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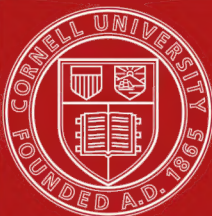
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THE
PEACE OF UTRECHT

A

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE GREAT TREATY OF 1713-14,
AND OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE WAR
OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

By JAMES W. GERARD

NEW YORK & LONDON
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PREFACE.

NO period of modern history, with the exception of that which comprehends the sway of Buonaparte, is more marked by momentous international events and changes than that which closed with the reigns of Queen Anne and Louis XIV.

The Peace of Utrecht was the political culmination of that period.

All the leading occurrences in Western Europe, for the prior fifty years, had a bearing and influence upon the terms of that great pacification.

The personages who moved upon the historic stage of the time, were such as to give it marked dramatic effect and interest.

Louis XIV. and his great generals, Villars, Boufflers, Vendôme, Catinat and Vauban—Charles II., the last of the Hapsburg Monarchs of Spain—the two contestants for the Spanish crown, Philip of Anjou and the Archduke Charles—the great statesmen prominent in the Treaty, Heinsius, Bolingbroke, Oxford and De Torcy—the three Emperors—the warlike German Electors—the politic and ambitious Duke of Savoy—the heroic William III.—the placid Queen Anne—the exiled tyrant, James—the unfortunate Pretender—the great leaders of the Allies, Marlborough and Eugene—and lastly, the political *intrigantes*, the Duchess of Marlborough, Madame de Maintenon and the Princess des Ursins—all of whom had, directly or remotely, a part in the contention over the Spanish Succession, or in the establishment of the Peace concluding it.

The aim of the following historical study of the "Peace of Utrecht" and the principal events that led to it, has been, to group together, in proper sequence, those events and the negotiations and compacts that followed, in such

form of narrative as may possibly prove interesting to the general reader, as well as to the student of political history.

Much of the subject-matter of the volume has, of course, been previously considered in general histories, but in a cursory manner. Treatises and memoirs, (many of them now out of print), have, also, from time to time, appeared, relative to special matters connected with the subjects investigated. There also has been elaborate review, in several works, of the great military events of the war of the "Succession."

So far as had been ascertained, however, there has been, heretofore, no treatment of the subject, embracing the events leading to the war, a chronological sketch of the military operations, the political intrigues and negotiations preceding and continuing during the war, the principal features of the Pacification, and the resulting political changes, combined in one review.

Some encouragement for the preparation of what follows has been gathered from the fact that there is manifested, at this time, a greater interest in matters of historical research, and, especially, in the particular treatment of eventful epochs.

There is, in fact, no class of literature, that, to persons of culture and reflection, can exhibit more interesting features than that which chronicles the actual results of the various motives that have impelled humanity to shape the events that form the great eras and epochs of history.

"History," says that elegant and philosophic writer, Mackintosh, "is now a vast museum, in which specimens of every variety of human nature may be studied."

Even those readers who find their greatest entertainment in fictitious composition may take some interest in the perusal of a sketch of the period closing the 17th and beginning the 18th century, the events of which form a continuous political drama; and which presents occurrences as startling and personages as remarkable as any that can be found in that class of literature which is due exclusively to efforts of the imagination.

The period of the four Georges, in England, has, in

various treatment, enlisted the attention of readers, who seek entertainment as well as information from historical narrative; but the period preceding it presents features of equal attraction and of broader aspect; and, as the events and personages connected with the earlier period become more dim by time, the veil, almost of romance, seems to gather around them, and awakens a more curious interest.

The word "Treaty" is used on the title-page, because the various compacts entered into, at Utrecht and Baden, between the allied States, respectively, and France, were of a comprehensive character, in carrying out the general pacification, and in the adjustment of international interests between the States which had been engaged in a war that arose out of one momentous occurrence affecting them all. There was, practically, but one treaty, although this was subdivided into the various compacts formulated,—each having a bearing on the others.

It has not been found practicable to follow in either the Map, or the text, the forms of any one system of geographical nomenclature.

The native or local names might not always be readily recognized by the general reader, and the more important of these have therefore been anglicized, while it has been thought best to give the others in the form used by the various authorities from which the material was derived.

September, 1885.

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CHAPTER I.

The Doctrine of the "Balance of Power."—The Preponderance of Power of Charles V.—Apprehension of the Power of Philip II.—The Adjustment of National Power in the General Interest.—Elizabeth.—Henry IV.—The Treaty of Westphalia.

THE BALANCE OF POWER.

THE political doctrine of the maintenance of a "Balance of Power," among nations, although often attacked as unwise, is one founded on a natural principle.

It has, at times, been made the pretext for aggression by a nation, when jealous of another's power, or when ambitious of aggrandizement.

The fundamental principle, however, that bases the doctrine, is that of self-protection—a right as natural and just for nations as for individuals. To this right is appended the moral obligation of interference for the protection of the weak against the strong.

In the great wars in which the nations of Western Europe were engaged, during and since the days of Charles V., the question of the balance of power either was originally involved or became an essential consideration in the consequent terms of pacification.

Before that time, the isolation of nations, the extent of land as compared with their population, and, in fact, their mutual ignorance of each other, restricted the views as well as the ambition of the great states; and the difficulties of communication and the inefficient nature of the arms of warfare limited their powers of aggression.

Since the period of Charlemagne, the nations had been in a formative state. The various dynasties had not become permanently strengthened in their possessions—thrones had been insecure ;—territorial limits had been undefined—and the various struggles between kings, nobles and people, in efforts to enlarge or diminish their respective powers, had much engaged each country in its own affairs and kept it comparatively free from international contests. The quarrels of dynasties, the antagonism of rulers, the repugnance of races, the struggles between the Papal and Imperial power, the claims to some portion of another's territory, contests with Turk and Moor, the rancor between rival Popes, the attempts at aggrandizement of great families, the struggles for independence by the smaller communities, and the assertion of their privileges by burghers against feudalism, had, at times, caused prolonged contests : but, in general, their duration was brief, their aims were not extensive, and their results circumscribed. Each great ruler had, for the most part, sufficient to occupy him in contests with his own feudatories ; in centralizing, uniting and holding his own realms, and in there strengthening his power.

It was not until nations became strong, compact and integrated within themselves, that the rulers of modern Europe could afford to be widely ambitious.

The extension of national domain by the absorption of foreign territory, and the efforts to prevent this, did not enlist the attention of rulers, as a matter of international regard, until the overbalancing power of Charles V. aroused the apprehension of Europe ; and the doctrine of the balance of power came to be recognized as one, in which all the States, even the smallest, had an interest. History showed that the great power wielded by that Emperor, and by his son Philip had been fraught with danger. It had disturbed the peace of Europe and embroiled the relations and imperilled the existence of minor States.

While the extensive rule of Charles V. had excited the particular apprehension of France against Germany, the attack on England, by Philip II., and the oppression of the Netherlands by that monarch and his successors, had made

the necessity of a restriction of power particularly apparent to both England and Holland; and the smaller States of Europe, and the Pope himself, saw that it was necessary for their peace and safety and for the public tranquillity, that neither the dominion of the Empire nor of France should unduly preponderate. It was necessary that those great sovereignties should mutually balance and check each other; and that some principles of national right and national morality, to protect the weak and restrain the strong, should be asserted and maintained, by mutual combination, and even, if necessary, by force of arms.

The question of the political balance of States entered thereafter, largely into all matters of European polity; and, in the making of treaties and settlement of dynasties, the question of territorial dominion often involved far reaching international considerations.

The ideas of the adjustment of national power in the general interest, and for the preservation of national independence, took prominent shape in European politics in the period of Queen Elizabeth's reign in England, and of that of Henry IV. in France. Each of those sovereigns, motivated by apprehension of the aggrandizement of the House of Austria, had enunciated views and initiated designs which had for their object the regulation of governmental interests with regard to the general welfare.

A plan introduced by Henry, at the instigation of his wise minister, Sully, was of an extensive international character; whereby there should be an alliance of all the States of Europe, both large and small, with a view to the settlement of all questions between nations by arbitration, through a joint accord. Thereby, it was designed to prevent the aggressions of ambition and to maintain a public tranquillity.

But neither the state of European political thought, then, nor the advanced moral conscientiousness among rulers, would permit the success of such golden measures;—nor indeed, would success attend them now—and the sword is still, as ever, the arbiter of political right.

The Treaty of Westphalia (October, 1648), which marks

an important era in European history, and terminated the great religious war which had deluged Europe with blood for 30 years (1618–1648), contemplated, in its features, such adjustment of territory and dominion as would give no State an undue preponderance.

That treaty had, by its terms, sensibly increased the dominion of France by decreasing that of the Empire. It also had diminished the power of the Emperor within his own dominions, and denationalized the Empire by giving to each State comprised in it a right of sovereignty, through representation in the Diet, with liberty of concluding treaties and alliances and levying contributions; thereby establishing the partial autonomy of the Germanic States.

By this treaty, France gained Alsace, and was confirmed in the possession of the Bishoprics of Toul, Metz and Verdun, and the prefecture of the ten imperial cities, which Louis XIV. afterwards, (1673), reduced to absolute subjection.

By this Treaty, also, a religious toleration was provided for in the German States; and each State was to have the right to prescribe the form of worship within its limits; and all subjects were to have the right to emigrate from the State where their creed was prohibited.

The upper Palatinate was to be retained by the Duke of Bavaria, who was in possession; and the lower Palatinate was secured to Charles Louis, son of the deposed Elector Frederick V., with an 8th Electoral vote. An important part of this Treaty also, was the recognition of the Dutch and Swiss Republics, by all Europe, as independent States.

The Pope, alone, denounced this great Treaty which pacified Europe, as “null, invalid and iniquitous.” He naturally made his protest against an extensive international compact, which, by recognizing religious toleration in States, as one of the ends of the pacification, was a great step forward in European moral and civil progress, and forever destroyed all Papal power and most of its influence, as a factor in the determination of international affairs.

CHAPTER II.

Preliminary View of the great States of Europe that became involved in the War of the Spanish Succession.—Charles V.—Philip II.—Germany and the Circles of the Empire.—Spain.—Holland.—The Spanish Netherlands.—England.—France.—Peace of the Pyrenees.—Commencement of the Reign of Louis XIV.—Colbert.

IN order to a satisfactory understanding of the circumstances that led to the great war of the Spanish Succession, a glance is proper at the condition of the principal States of Europe that became engaged in that war, and also a brief review of the contests that immediately preceded it.

The restless ambition of Louis XIV., his love of power, and, as it is termed, of "Glory," kept Europe in a continued agitation for the entire period of his reign: and such was the strength and resources of his kingdom, the intelligence of his ministers, the valor of his troops, the ability of his generals, as well as his own genius for ruling and direction, that, if it had not been for the alliances formed between England and the great continental powers to prevent the preponderance of France, there would have been such an extension of French dominion as to have entirely changed the political face of Europe, and probably, to have altered the religion, morals and habits of many of the other European States.

GERMANY.

The House of Burgundy was, at one time, one of the most powerful States in Europe; and, besides its French possessions, for which it was feudatory to France, absorbed in succession Flanders, Antwerp, Malines, the Duchies of Brabant and Limbourg, Namur, Hainault, and Luxembourg; and, subsequently, the Comptés of Holland, Flanders, Artois and Zealand; also the States of Zutphen and

Friesland; and Charles the Bold became the richest Prince of his time.

Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, as heiress of the Netherlands, brought all these rich provinces to the House of Austria, by marriage, (in 1477) with the Archduke Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick. The son of these, Philip, (in 1496), married Jeanne or Joanna la Folle, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon, and Isabella of Castile, whose marriage had united the two great divisions of Spain. Philip, subsequently, became king of Spain, as Philip I.

The son of Philip was the celebrated Charles V., who became king of Spain, and added to his estates in the Netherlands, the Bishopric of Utrecht, also, Gronigen, Gueldres, and Over-Yssel. Subsequently, elected Emperor of Germany, in 1519, Charles continued to rule over Spain and its colonies and dependencies, as king, and over the Austrian possessions of his house, as Archduke; and consequently possessed greater dominion and power than any sovereign that had reigned in Europe since the days of Charlemagne.

He constituted his provinces in the Netherlands into the Germanic "circle" called that of Burgundy; and ceded his hereditary Austrian dominions to his brother Ferdinand, who afterwards succeeded him as Emperor. Majorca, Sardinia, Naples and Sicily, had also come to Charles, by succession, through the House of Aragon.

The German Empire with the vast dominions under the control of the great head of the House of Austria, was a most formidable power in Europe; and, as has been before remarked, awakened the minds of other sovereigns to the necessity of checking such preponderance, unless all Western Europe was to be under the control of a single head.

Under the rule of that Emperor, the House of Austria had possession and dominion over Spain, Portugal, all the rich countries of America, the Netherlands, the Milanese, the Kingdoms of Naples, Bohemia and Hungary, and all Germany: and, after the battle of Pavia, in 1525, Charles was, in effect, the master of Italy.

Worn out by the cares and anxieties of this great dominion and his numerous wars in its defence ; and harassed by the religious differences in his German States, Charles exchanged his crown (in 1555) for a Spanish cloister—and his great Empire became divided.

To his son Philip was given Spain and its colonies, and other dependencies ; and his Austrian possessions, as well as the Imperial crown of Germany became the possession of his brother, Ferdinand.

At about the time of the majority of Louis XIV., what was deemed Germany consisted of a collection of upwards of 300 Confederate States, some of large, some of very small extent—some being merely free cities, some ecclesiastical sovereignties, some petty secular principalities, some powerful realms ; of all which the Emperor was the supreme potentate ; with reservation of certain rights and freedom of action to the separate States.

Although the title of Emperor gave with it a certain power, it gave no estates—but the most powerful of the German reigning families, being the House of Austria, had gradually so extended its influence, as to arrogate to itself a hereditary right to the Imperial Crown, although the form of an election, by the Electors of the Empire, was always observed.

For purposes of protection and concord among themselves the German Empire was divided into ten combinations or circles, viz. : Austria, Bavaria, Upper Saxony, Lower Saxony, Westphalia, the upper Rhine, the lower Rhine, Franconia and Swabia ; nominally also, the Belgicus or Belgian, comprising the provinces of Holland and the ten provinces, sometimes called Flanders.

SPAIN.

Spain at this time was governed by the elder branch of the House of Austria.

At the time of the death of Charles V. and the division of his dominions, Spain was the most powerful State in Europe.

To sustain her power she controlled the riches of Mexico and Peru ; and her armies and her vast navies were maintained by supplies of treasure, that no other European State could obtain, through the most extensive taxation of the industry or estates of its subjects.

This power, maintained by continually incoming wealth, seemed continually growing, and threatened, for a long time, the liberties of other of the great States : but even the power and dominion of Spain seemed, in time, to produce weakness.

Her arrogance and pretensions caused wars that drained her resources and raised up bitter enmities. The extent of her possessions, and their distance from the mother country caused the employment and removal of large bodies of troops ; and, under the successors of Philip II., as has been aptly remarked, Spain became a vast body without sufficient power to move or animate it ; governed more by the fear of its reputed strength than by its existing force, and its dominions began gradually, like useless limbs, to fall away.

Under Philip IV. Portugal, Roussillon and Catalonia were lost to the State ; and long before, the States of the Low Dutch countries, generally known as Holland, had secured their independence and thrown off the Spanish yoke ; the monarchs had become ignorant, bigoted, and shut up in foolish ceremony, and did nothing to promote the happiness of their subjects or the welfare of their country.

Still Spain was a formidable power—and the riches of America still flowed into its Treasury, although the corruption of its officials and the weakness of its administration, diverted much of this Treasure from the purposes of the State ; and lowered the manhood that had made the Spanish soldier noted in the annals of European war.

HOLLAND.

The United Provinces of the Netherlands, although of small extent, played an important part in the arena of modern European war and politics.

The hardihood of the early inhabitants of these regions—the Frison and the Batavian—had battled, in the midst of their morasses, with Roman and Saxon and Frank and German, struggling for the independence of the miserable strips of land which barely yielded sustenance, but were always the subject of attack.

The hardihood of these early men had descended to a people no less determined to be free. A people daring, enterprising, persevering—born almost in the sea, which they had mastered—nurtured amid morass and fen—exposed to icy blasts from the North, and humid exhalations from canal and dyke—taught early and ever, to battle with nature or to perish—where the face of the sea and land and sky, pale, sad and leaden, gave seriousness to the mind and resolve to the character—a people whose patriotism more than once overwhelmed their land with the floods of Ocean to keep out the invader, and whose courage never gave way under oppression or defeat.

With a country, insignificant in size, and feeble in resources, this people, in 1579 had declared themselves a free nation, whose national character was thereafter formed amid perils and tears and blood!

For nearly eighty years, with little intermission, they battled with the fierce legions of Spain in defence of country and home and life—for eighty years they showed a courage and perseverance under oppression, disaster and defeat, unparalleled in human history—and, finally, the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, having established their liberties and consolidated their State took their stand among the nations of Europe, and vied with them in schemes of trade, exploration and dominion.

Waging a combat with Nature, as well as against the aggression and cruelty of man, in a region where there was more water than land—"where no animal could subsist in a natural state"—where the winters were long and bitter, and the yield of earth but small—they had, by barrier and dyke, constructed meadows and gardens in the midst of the waters—and the fierce seas, that had raged about them,

were subdued, and tamely led, in canal and stream, throughout the desolate land, to give it fertility and bloom.

The noisome fen and rank morass and, even the inlets of the seas, now waved with golden grain—and where had stormed the billows, peaceful cattle browsed, and tulip and hyacinth and blossoming fruit lent their varying beauties to the pastoral scene.

The forests had been hewn to support the houses of commerce, amid turreted cities that rose majestically from the waters;—great marts of trade, where resorted merchants from all the civilized world; and where probity of dealing and industry and thrift gave honor and prosperity, where they had been dearly and nobly earned.

At the beginning of the war of deliverance against Spain, the Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces, but the confederation of those who declared their compact of union at Utrecht (1579) were those subsequently known as “The Seven United Provinces,” often designated in history under the name of “Holland.”

These seven provinces consisted of Guelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Over-Yssel, Friesland and Groningen; and were in favor of the Protestant religion. At the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, as has been seen above, their independence was formally recognized as that of a Federal Commonwealth.

The Southern provinces, often in history called Flanders, or the Spanish Netherlands, remained subject to Spain, under the immediate control of a Spanish governor or viceroy. They became, as has been said of them, the chosen fighting ground of Europe, and the chosen plaything of European diplomacy.

The people of the Seven United Provinces had shown to Europe what the love of liberty, the spirit of industry and the force of national character could do in forming and maintaining a State; and having worn out, by their hardihood, the trained veterans of Spain and her Italian mercenaries, under the command of the greatest captains of the age, the little Republic, theretofore counting for nothing in European politics, became a recognized factor in them.

Since the recognition of the independence of the Provinces, they had gone on increasing their resources and uniting their strength, and had formed a State whose friendship was to be cultivated, and whose enmity was formidable. Their naval power was rapidly augmented—they wrested from Spain and Portugal a large portion of their Indian trade—their fishing boats swarmed in distant seas, and added to the national wealth—they planted colonies in the islands of the East—they visited realms of sun and snow in furtherance of commerce and discovery—and became the factors, carriers and financiers of Europe—they built up a navy that at one time checked a Spanish Armada and, at another drove English fleets from the sea, and triumphantly sailed up the Thames.

Recovering from the depression of a bloody struggle, which had taxed their life and their resources, their moral progress had equalled their political one,—they established public schools, and gave to Europe the example of freedom of education, of conscience and religion—and made their country, in the face of the inhumanity and intolerance of the time, an asylum for the persecuted and oppressed.

ENGLAND.

England, at about the time that Louis XIV. took upon himself an active part in public affairs, was not a power of very high consequence in European politics.

Cromwell, it is true, had asserted her power and maintained her dignity during his brief but vigorous administration ; but, since the Restoration, under the reign of the second Charles, still weakened by internal dissensions, vacillating in policy and governed by a heedless, unpatriotic and pleasure-seeking monarch, the influence of England had become sensibly diminished.

Her resources were small, her finances disturbed, her navy had lost its skill and its daring, she had no standing army, and no generals capable of commanding one ; her statesmen were corrupt and narrow minded ; and England became, in a short time, and for many years remained, in

effect, a mere dependency upon the French crown—bought by its gold, obedient to its dictation and subservient to its interests; and the feeble Charles turned her navies against those who had given him shelter and support; and who were, by nature, and sympathy, his allies.

FRANCE.

The great object of Henry IV. had been to lower the House of Austria and spread French influence over Europe.

This policy had been followed by Richelieu; and, at his death, in 1642, he had left France powerful, and its influence in Europe greater than ever before.

Mazarin followed, in the same ideas, and Louis XIV. exceeded, in his ambitious scope, all the monarchs and ministers who had preceded him.

Louis was born in September, 1638, and became, in 1651, of the legal age to govern, but, during his actual minority, paid no regard to public affairs. When he became king, through the death of his father, Louis XIII., a war was raging with Spain, which had not been terminated by the Peace of Westphalia, and which was continued during a large part of his minority; and, from the succession of Louis XIV. down to the recognized establishment of his grandson on the Spanish throne, by the treaty of Utrecht, there raged between France and the other great powers of Western Europe a series of prolonged and devastating wars.

The famous treaty of the Pyrenees, which, in 1659, finally terminated the long war with Spain, also embraced the interesting feature of a marriage between the young King, then about twenty-one years of age, and the daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, the Infanta Donna Maria Theresa. On the death of Cardinal Mazarin, in 1661, Louis began really to reign; and startled his ministers and council by a forcible declaration so to do.

At 22 years of age, he found himself at the head of a kingdom whose armies had been weakened and shattered in civil dissensions and foreign wars, and whose finances

were deranged not only by the expenses of war but by speculation, extravagance and other official abuse.

By the intelligence of the king, however, by his aptitude for business, and his talent for reigning, and, through the exertions of the able ministers Le Tellier, Colbert and Louvois, he built up France; her finances were re-established, her industry and commerce were developed, her navy became formidable, her armies spread over Europe and gained laurels for a Monarch, who, in time, became the despoiler of States, and a dictator to Princes.

To his great Minister, Colbert, whose wise administration shed lustre on his master's Crown, was Louis particularly indebted for the prosperity that marked the earlier portion of his reign.

Far seeing, humane and just, Colbert's comprehensive genius sought out and rectified abuses, relieved the laboring and agricultural classes from the oppression of undue taxation and feudal exaction, controlled the ambitious schemes and plots of courtiers and office-holders, cut off sinecures, put a stop to official plunder, and instituted a policy of peace. He opposed the oppression of the Protestants, encouraged art, science and literature: and, by his judicious changes in finance and in naval and military affairs, and by other wise and comprehensive schemes of reform and improvement, so developed the agricultural, commercial and financial resources of the kingdom as to make France the most powerful, prosperous and intellectual nation of Europe.

CHAPTER III.

Acts of Louis XIV. on assuming the Reins of Government.—War against Spain of 1667.—The Triple Alliance.—Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle.—War against Holland; 1672-1679.—Declaration of War by England against Holland.—Desperate condition of Holland.—William of Orange made Stadt-holder and Generalissimo.—Progress of the War.—Peace made between Holland and England.—Treaty of Westminster.—Germany and Spain unite with Holland.—Peace of Nymeguen 1678-1679.

WAR AGAINST SPAIN OF 1667.

CARDINAL MAZARIN had said of Louis XIV., presaging his thirst for power and genius for ruling, "He has set out rather late; but he will go farther than anybody else. There is stuff enough in him to make four kings, and an honest man."

On taking the actual reins of government in his hands, at about the age of twenty-three, Louis immediately fortified his frontiers, renewed his alliances, and began reforms in the administration of justice and the finances.

When Mazarin died, in March, 1661, there was no war with Spain. Prosperity for France seemed assured, both in its foreign and domestic relations. The peace of the Pyrenees however, was of no long duration, and the young king's thirst for conquest soon developed itself.

War was begun against Spain by Louis, during the childhood of Charles II., the latter's mother being regent of that kingdom. There was no plausible pretext for war against his young brother-in-law and a weak and decaying neighboring kingdom. A pretext was made that Philip IV. had not paid the dowry of the French Queen, and Flanders and Franche Comté were claimed as an indemnity.

The Spanish possession of the Netherlands, unfortunate Flanders, which was quite unprepared for resistance, be-

came again the great theatre of war. Charleroi, Ath, Tournay, Courtrai, Lisle and other important places in French Flanders and Hainault capitulated, after a few days' siege of each, by an army that seemed to make a pastime of the campaign, and easily scattered the small Spanish army of occupation of 8000 men. The whole of Flanders bordering on France was taken in three months. The king, at the head of his brilliant officers, courtiers and merry makers, then marched in a series of easy triumphs, through Franche Comté, a peaceful semi-independent country, under the protection of Spain; it made but a feeble resistance, and in three weeks, became a French possession.

Europe began now to awaken to a sense of the danger of allowing this new monarch to have his own way, who made war as an amusement, and, with scarcely a pretext, devastated peaceful countries and fortified himself by annexing all the strongholds within his reach.

England had made peace (that of Breda, in 1667) with Holland, after a war which had brought no honor to the former country; and now England, Sweden and Holland (Jan., 1668) entered into a compact called "*The Triple Alliance*," which bound those Protestant States together in close union, and, by their threatening attitude, compelled Louis to make peace. This was the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, made in May, 1668.

By this Treaty, it was stipulated, that the contracting parties were not to give up any of their "*pretensions*." Spain yielded to France various towns in the Spanish Netherlands, on the rivers Sambre, the Scheldt, the Dender and the Lys, which Louis immediately began to strengthen, under the superintendence of Vauban. Franche Comté, however, was given back to Spain, but in a defenceless state; and certain fortresses which had been held by France were also yielded with their strong works demolished.

By the retention of fortresses on the frontier, and the strengthening of others, another war was evidently contemplated by the ambitious young king, on whom Fortune seemed everywhere to smile.

WAR AGAINST HOLLAND 1672-1679.

France had now been at peace for less than two years, when the restless ambition of Louis began to move him toward another contest.

He had been especially aggrieved that Holland should have dared to enter into the compact against him which had checked his progress in the late war.

He, therefore, now sought to detach England from her alliance with Holland, so that the latter might fall an easy prey to his armies.

Charles II. of England, who was without either magnanimity or honor, and who wanted money for his pleasures, became an easy convert to the views of Louis.

French money and the intrigues of French diplomacy were materially assisted by the persuasions of Charles' sister, Henrietta, the wife of the French king's only brother, the Duke of Orleans, as well as by the wiles and smiles of Mademoiselle de Querouaille, afterwards Duchess of Portsmouth, who was sent over by Louis, as the most potent diplomatist he could select to influence the frivolous English monarch.

A secret league was thereupon made in May, 1670, with England, or rather with Charles, and little Holland was left for Louis to devour at his leisure.

The formidable preparations that Louis was making for his new conquest caused great consternation in Holland, which was, at that time, somewhat divided by civil dissensions and totally unprepared for war.

Her people had long peaceably cultivated the soil, and given their attention to commerce which had made them prosperous, but indisposed them to warlike operations by land, in which they were quite inexperienced.

Their little militia army of 25,000 *bourgeois* appeared contemptible in the eyes of the great monarchs of Europe, although the Dutch navy was formidable, having, during the period of the English commonwealth, and in the early years of Charles' reign, defied the navies of England, in many a gallant fight.

Louis gave no pretext for his hostility, except that the Dutch had treated him contemptuously in their pamphlets, and he complained that a medal had been struck in Holland, ridiculing him.—It was the pretext of the wolf to the lamb.

England gave equally feeble reasons. Charles was content with his stipend of £200,000 a year; and agreed to furnish fifty men-of-war.

Every preparation was made to entirely crush the defenceless Republic, that breathlessly awaited the attack.

De Groot, the Dutch minister at Paris, thus wrote to the States General, in Nov., 1671: "I leave you to judge with what heartbreaking, I continue in this country, where nothing is to be heard but invectives against their High-mightinesses, and where, as I am informed, a manifesto is preparing against them."

He subsequently writes, in relation to the alleged causes of grievance, by France, against Holland; specifying, among others, the duties imposed by Holland on French wines, and concludes thus: "But it is certain that the only discontent they have here, against their High-mightinesses, is not founded on any *reason*, but arises from their puffed up pride, which cannot suffer that so small a State should dare to put itself on a level with a King; either in maintaining the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle or in laying duties upon the produce of their Kingdom; imagining that it does not become such a Republic to show so little respect to this King as to presume to counteract or frustrate his edicts by their placards." He writes also of the gathering of troops and other preparations made by France, evidently directed against Holland alone—of the manufacture of "frost shoes," of light portable bridges for crossing rivers, and of portable boats made of reeds and rushes, and of the movement of fleets and armies. To the remonstrances of De Groot against these threatening preparations for war, Louis returned the abrupt reply that "he could give no other answer than that he was busy assembling his troops and equipping his fleet: which, being done, he would take such resolutions as he should deem most conducive to his interests

and his glory." Soon after, he gave the Dutch Ambassador to understand that he had better return home.

De Groot, thereupon, wrote to the States General to the effect that there was no time now for negotiation or mediation, but that they must be prepared, at any moment, to find the French in the heart of their dominions.

Louis, subsequently, sent an insolent and sarcastic letter to the States General, dated 6th Jan., 1672; in which he accuses them of want of proper regard for him and his interests, and thus concludes: "If it is true, as you recognize the fact, that justice is the rule of your conduct and actions, and that you are satisfied with the view you take of them, you ought not to be so disquieted, as you are, about our arms. We will now plainly say to you that we will increase our armament by land and sea, *as pleases us*; and when in the condition that we propose to place it, we will employ it *as suits our dignity*, without any account to render to anybody—being assured that God and those Potentates who have not been prejudiced against us, by sinister means, will approve our resolution.

"Your good friend, ally and confederate,

"LOUIS."

Holland received, at first, no aid or sympathy from the other Powers of Europe, who might well be alarmed at this new attack on the liberties of States.

The Archbishop of Cologne, Maximilian of Bavaria, and the Bishop of Munster were brought over to French interests, with little trouble; and in March, 1672, war was formally declared against Holland, both by France and England. Thirty men-of-war, of fifty pieces of cannon each, joined with the English fleet were to operate by sea, and the king, with his brother, marched to the frontiers at the head of 112,000 men who were eager for plunder and military distinction.

The great generals Turenne, Condé and Luxembourg, were to move the hosts in the field, while the sieges were to be under charge of the great engineer and siege-master, Vauban: and Louvois, the war minister, was active in all that related to the armament and provisioning of the troops.

To climax all, Pelisson, the historian, accompanied the king to chronicle his victories; and a crowd of the nobility officered the forces or figured in the ranks. The *Garde du corps*, the *gendarmes* of the *garde*, the light horsemen and the *mousquetaires* glittering in arms and decorated with gold and silver, marched eagerly forward thirsting for promotion, and for distinction in the eyes of the court, and, above all, of the king. The Queen and the two Mistresses also attended with their brilliant households to witness the great play of war. Holland was rapidly overwhelmed by the torrent of her invaders—Lorraine, which sided with her, was seized—the Rhine was crossed with feeble opposition—the fortified towns of Rhineberg, Orsoy, Wesel, and Burich and others on the Rhine gave in, almost without a blow, and others, on the Ysel, soon followed.

The lines beyond the Rhine were abandoned as the storm of war swept Eastward and Northward. The French then rapidly took Zutphen, Arnheim, Nymeguen, Bommel and other fortified places in Guelderland, that surrendered, helpless against overpowering numbers. Utrecht, too, was taken, where Louis established his camp; and the Provinces of Utrecht, Over-Yssel and Guelderland lay panting and fearful at the feet of the conqueror.

Amsterdam less than thirty miles north of Utrecht awaited her turn—the skirmishers were within a league of her gates—her rich citizens, with their families, were preparing for flight to Batavia or some other colonial region—De Witt the grand Pensionary was ready to yield—and timid patriots gave up their country as lost, and were almost ready to submit to the yoke of France.

Deputies were now sent to beg for mercy and peace. But they were received with harshness, and ridicule: the terms offered were dishonorable and insulting, including, among others, that the Roman Catholic religion should be established, and that, every year, an Ambassador extraordinary should be sent to France, with the written acknowledgment that the Hollanders held their liberties from the hand of the French king!

These terms were so intolerable that all revolted from

thoughts of peace—the courage of desperation took the place of concession—all hearts turned, for their deliverance, to the young Prince William of Orange who was elected Stadt-holder and General of all the forces by land and sea to lead them on to a desperate and final struggle for their lives and liberty.

The suffering populace, in their frenzy, massacred the Pensionary De Witt and his brother, who were opposed to William in his policy of government.

With a patriotism that preferred self-immolation to surrender, the dykes were opened—and the seas poured in:—the rich plains were submerged—and Amsterdam stood, like a lioness, at bay, in the midst of the waste of waters.

The French, unable to accomplish their purpose while the country was thus flooded, finding their tactics of no avail and their vast numbers useless, retired precipitately.

The Dutch fleets were now free to move: De Ruyter fought the combined English and French squadrons, drove them from the coasts, and safely convoyed the Dutch, Indianen into the great bay of the Zuyder Zee.

The Prince of Orange, although not yet 23 years of age, took a bold and active part in resisting the invasion. He cut the Dykes wherever the French threatened to move, and gave up his private fortune to the needs of his country. He fought the enemy by sea and land, and finally, opened secret negotiations with Spain and the Emperor.

Seriously alarmed, they responded; and soon, the Governor of Flanders, the Emperor Leopold and the Elector of Brandenburg sent contributions of troops to the aid of Holland; and a formal league was made, in August, 1672.

Louis left Holland to his generals to finish the conquest he had undertaken, and which, had their movements been more rapid, might have been accomplished: but his army was divided and shut up in the various fortified places and districts taken, and the golden opportunity was gone. The allies soon, thereafter, seized Cologne, and intercepted communication between France and Holland by the Rhine. The Empire, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Spain were now fairly in the field against France; from every part of

Germany troops poured toward the Rhine, and a great European war resulted.

Franche Comté was again invaded, and submitted to the French: the war raged along the Rhine and in Lorraine and Alsace, where Turenne achieved rapid success, and carried fire and sword into the Palatinate, in a manner that called forth the denunciations of Europe.

Condé operated his forces in Flanders opposed to William, where the contest was obstinate and bloody, but not decisive. Charles II. of England was now compelled by public opinion there, to secede from his alliance with France; and in Feb., 1674, he concluded a separate peace with Holland, known as the Treaty of Westminster.

In 1674 and 1675, the war continued to rage along the Rhine with varying success. Montecuculi and other able generals of the allies checked the victorious progress of the French—their great captain, Turenne, having been killed, at Salzbach.

Louis, in spite of some checks, and the drain on his resources continued singly to oppose the United forces of the Empire, Spain and Holland, and took Condé, Bouchain, Valenciennes and Cambray on the Scheldt, and other places in Hainault, where the Prince of Orange opposed him, with skilful tactics and untiring energy. Ghent and Ypres also yielded to the French.

Luxembourg and Crequi conducted the king's armies in Germany, but lost the important post of Philipsbourg on the upper Rhine.

As a result, so far, in the war, the French were generally successful in Flanders and Germany, and obtained several important naval victories.

PEACE OF NYMEGUEN.

All sides were now, however, worn out with this terrible war which had for nearly seven years desolated central Europe.

Finally, Louis, having by intrigue, caused jealousies and differences among the allies, dictated almost his own terms

of the peace which was signed, as between the Dutch and French, at Nymeguen, on the 10th of August, 1678, contrary to the active opposition of the Stadtholder.

By this treaty, Louis added to his dominions Franche Comté and Dunkerque; and half of Flanders, commonly known as French Flanders, were to be retained by him, including the important towns of Valenciennes, Charlemont, Cambrai, Bouchâin, Ypres, St. Omer and Condé; while to Spain were to be restored certain other towns to form the barrier against France earnestly desired by Holland, including the important places, Charleroi, Ghent, Limburg, Courtrai, Oudenarde, and St. Greislan.

Holland lost no territory by the war; but Maestricht was to be ceded to Spain.

The Duke of Lorraine, on certain conditions was to be restored to his estates, of which concession however he refused to avail himself.

It was not until October, 1679, that the Peace was finally concluded between France and the other contending powers, Spain, the Emperor, the Germanic Diet, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the King of Denmark; all of whom resisted in arms the terms proposed by France, until the French Generals, by threatening movements and some brilliant successes, determined them to peace.

As a condition of the peace, Louis required that the Spanish flag should be first lowered at sea and dipped to that of France; and the king of Spain was to renounce the title of Count of Burgundy. As regards Holland, but two French guns were to be fired in answer to nine salutes from the former country.

These provisions illustrate the pretention and power of France, at the time.

CHAPTER IV.

Europe after the Peace of Nymeguen.—Occupation of Strasburg, by the French.—Alliance of Germany, Spain, Holland and Sweden.—Entrance into the Netherlands by the French.—The Truce of Ratisbon.—Compact of Augsburg; 1686.—Bombardment of Genoa.—Action of the French at Rome.—War in 1688.—The Revolution in England.—William of Orange becomes King.—Louis' welcome of James II.—The Grand Alliance.—Operations of the war.—Capture of Mons and Namur.—Louis at Gembloux.—Defeat of William at Steinkirk and Neerwinden.—Retaking of Namur by William.—Proposals of Peace.—The Peace of Ryswick; 1697.—Policy of Louis.—General results of the War.

AFTER the conclusion of the peace of Nymeguen, in October, 1679, the other Powers disbanded their troops; Louis kept those of France on a war footing. He employed them in new aggressions, by despoiling certain princes of their seigneuries, which, he asserted, were appanages of Alsace; and, as lord of that Province, he claimed the rights of feudal lordship over them. He also formed a design to take possession of the free city of Strasburg; and after gaining over the magistrates, under threats of bombardment, he took possession of the city, and was acknowledged by it as Suzerain. He garrisoned the place with French troops, and Vauban strengthened its defences. After it had been thoroughly fortified a commemorative medal was struck, with the boastful legend, "*Clausa Germanis Gallia.*"

This annexation of Strasburg by France caused great excitement and grave apprehension throughout Germany; and the alarm was stimulated by pamphlets circulated, to the effect that Louis had formed a design to seize the Imperial crown for the house of Bourbon, by the creation of the Dauphin as King of the Romans, and presumptive successor to the Emperor Leopold.

Under these apprehensions, Holland, Sweden, Spain, several of the circles of the Empire, Bavaria and the Emperor, in 1682, entered into agreements of alliance, guaranteeing the maintenance of the treaties of Munster and Nymeguen and for mutual assistance against France.

In the mean while, France took advantage of the peace to fortify and strengthen herself for further warfare; and, by way of interlude, French flotillas under Duquesne, bombarded the cities and strongholds of the Emperor of Morocco and the Dey of Algiers; and compelled those piratical potentates to restore French prisoners and sue for peace.

The Prince of Orange now exerted all his influence to have a general war against France declared; no Power however seemed willing again to take that step; the memories of the former terrible contests were recent, and not inspiring. Louis defied them all, and turned his attention particularly to the increase of his navy.

The effective of men was raised to 60,000; and 100 vessels of the line rode in the ports of Brest, Havre de Grâce, Dunkirk and Toulon.

Impatient that Spain had not carried out, according to his ideas, the Treaty of Nymeguen, or, perhaps, seeking a new pretext for his ambitious schemes, Louis again assailed that kingdom through its unfortunate Flemish possessions. French troops entered into Flanders and Brabant, and laid them under contribution; bombarding several towns that were easily taken. Marshals de Crequi and Vauban besieged Luxembourg, and in a few weeks (June 7, 1684) it surrendered, and was strengthened by Vauban for the new French occupation.

Justly incensed, Spain, at the close of the year 1683, had declared war against France; and Holland, now becoming apprehensive for its barrier against France, made threats of assistance to Spain. Louis, deciding to remove the seat of war from Flanders, a part of the army proceeded to Liege, to assist the Prince Bishop Elector of Cologne to subjugate his subjects in the former city.

Other French troops carried on the war in Catalonia.

Finally, as the Emperor began to arouse himself to assist Spain, a truce of twenty years was signed at Ratisbon, in August, 1684, between the Empire and France, and between France and Spain. By this truce it was stipulated, among other things, that France was to remain in possession of Alsace and its then dependencies for the space of twenty years ; and Louis was to retain possession of Strasburg and Kehl. William of Orange was earnestly opposed to the truce of Ratisbon : he saw that after every peace France was gaining new territory, and every cessation of arms by her was but a prelude to new aggression.

Subsequently, in July, 1686, a compact was entered into at Augsburg, by which the Princes of the Empire bound themselves together for mutual defence—the King of Spain, as the head of the circle of Burgundy, and the King of Sweden, as Duke of Pomerania, were parties to the alliance. The Prince of Orange, always indefatigable in all that concerned opposition to France, was supposed to have been the instigator of this compact.

After the truce of Ratisbon the French troops did not remain idle. Genoa, having showed sympathy with Spain, and repudiating a French protectorate, a pretext was made to make war upon that proud but not very powerful Republic.

The envoy of Genoa was thrown into the Bastille : a series of terrible bombardments, by which nearly the whole of the beautiful city was destroyed, compelled it to yield, and the venerable Doge was obliged under one of the terms of peace, to go, in person, with four of the Senators to Versailles, “to testify in the name of the Republic of Genoa, its extreme regret for having displeased his Majesty, in most respectful and submissive terms.” The Barbary States also were again chastised and bombarded into submission.

Louis also sent some soldiers and marines to Rome and mounted guard over the Pope, who could only make a feeble protest against the insult. France meantime kept strengthening her fortified places and increasing her army.

These operations and preparations of France were anxiously watched by the other powers, who bestirred them-

selves to make alliances for mutual support, much incited thereto by the Pope, Innocent XI., who naturally entertained bitter feeling against the insolent French king.

WAR IN 1688.

The peace or truce of Ratisbon had been in existence barely four years, when the king of France determined on another war, and French troops began to defile towards Alsace and Lorraine. By his manifesto of Sept. 24, 1688, the reason or rather pretext alleged by the French king, was that the Emperor had hostile designs against France, which he intended to carry out so soon as he had made peace with the Turks.

The alliance made by the above mentioned league of Augsburg, for the purpose of maintaining the public tranquillity, and carrying out the provisions of the treaties of Westphalia and Nymeguen, was also construed as a menace by Louis.

Two other motives for the war were put forward ; one relating to certain rights of the sister-in-law of the French king, the Duchess of Orleans, in property in the Palatinate ; and the other the right to control in favor of one of Louis' own creatures, the election of an archbishop elector of Cologne, which belonged of right to the chapter of the Cathedral. But the veritable motive for the war, by Louis, is supposed to have been, that he might through the operations of his forces in the vicinity of Holland, prevent the future accession of William of Orange to the throne of England, by diverting William's attention to the safety of his own country.

It was of the highest importance that James, who was a co-religionist and a friend, and even, in effect, a paid vassal of Louis, should, in the event of an European crisis, be maintained on the English throne, and continue there as an ally of France ; whereas, if the Prince of Orange succeeded to that throne, he would have the power both of England and Holland to use in thwarting the ambitious views of the French king.

So soon as news of the landing of the Prince of Orange (Nov., 1688) in England, came to France, that country declared war against Holland.

The war that ensued was carried on with great acrimony and even barbarity.

Louis immediately sent the Dauphin into Germany with an army of 100,000 men, with such skilled leaders to guide him as D'Humières, Catinat, Boufflers, Vauban and D'Huxelles.

This policy of Louis of carrying the war into the heart of Germany, instead of attacking Holland, was deemed unwise, for it left William free to carry out his designs upon England.

In the autumn of 1688, the important fortress of Philipsbourg was taken; and also Manheim, Franchendal, Spire, Mentz, Treves and Worms—the Palatinate was a second time ravaged and burned, and, under instructions from the barbarous war-minister, Louvois, turned almost into a desert—also parts of Baden and territories bordering on the Rhine. Manheim and Treves were utterly demolished, and the French arms swept victoriously down the Rhine, from mid-Baden to Cologne.

Denunciation of French barbarity and cries for vengeance against the ruthless invaders now arose throughout Germany, and the people flew to arms with unanimity to protect their homes. The Germans, under the Duke of Lorraine, and the Elector of Brandenburg retook Bonn and Mentz and had other various successes.

The war was thereupon carried on into Flanders, Germany and Catalonia: Catinat achieved great victories, for the king, in Italy, and became master of nearly all of Savoy and Piedmont.

Luxembourg, also, in 1690, gained important successes for France, in Flanders.

Before William's appearance on the theatre of war, in Flanders, a great Revolution had taken place in England, and James II., the protégé and ally of Louis, had been driven from the throne.

This revolution changed England from an ally of France,

into a bitter and persistent foe, and had a permanent effect upon the fortunes of Europe.

The Prince of Orange had seen that if he were Sovereign of England he could control its policy towards the delight of his heart, a war with France. The prospect of such a war rather than ambition for further rule induced him to acquire the English throne.

The history of his conquest is well known; and, in January, 1689, the unfortunate bigot James, of whom a high Catholic prelate of the time said, "that he sacrificed three thrones for a mass," took refuge with Louis, imploring his assistance.

In welcoming the royal family to France, with magnificent hospitality, Louis' remark to the exiled Queen indicated the part he was to take in the effort of James to regain his throne. "I perform rather a sad service for you, Madame," said he, "but I hope soon to render you more important and fortunate ones." The formal declaration of war by England against France was made on the 7th of May, 1689. Louis immediately proceeded to carry out his promises; he fitted out a fleet and provided arms, munitions and troops to transport James to Ireland, where the latter made his final efforts to recover his crown. French fleets also cruised in the Channel, and attacked Dutch and English vessels wherever they were to be encountered; and Tourville, in March, 1690, sent out to further an expedition in favor of James, obtained a signal victory over the combined fleets, and gained for the French, temporarily, the mastery of the seas.

The battle of the Boyne, and subsequent discomfitures at Athlone, Aghrim, Limerick and elsewhere, by land and sea, however, terminated the hopes of the Jacobites for the time; and James, become a king in name alone, held court at St. Germain, a pensionary of the French king. He had abundant leisure now to muse over his fallen greatness—the result of a tyrannous and bigoted rule.

This unnecessary and cruelly conducted war and the apprehension it excited, had led to the formation of a further permanent offensive and defensive alliance against

France, between the Empire and Holland, to which England and Charles II. of Spain subsequently acceded.

This alliance, when completed Dec. 30, 1689, is known in history as "The Grand Alliance." Its main design was to keep France to observance of the Treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, and to act against her in any attempt to make war on any member of the compact.

The alliance also was declared to be *for the purpose of ensuring to the Emperor and his successors the Spanish crown, on the decease of the then King, Charles II.*

Most of the German Princes, through the influence and untiring energy of William, by promises of subsidies and reward, also united in the alliance, which became one of an extensive and formidable character. The Duke of Savoy subsequently took side with the allies.

As the war progressed not only the borders of the Rhine but Spain, Italy and the Low Countries, and also Ireland, became theatres of conflict.

Early in the spring of 1691 Louis, assisted by Luxembourg and Vauban manœuvring at the head of 100,000 men, had compelled Mons, one of the most important fortified places of Hainault, to surrender, almost without a blow.

At times, Louis took the field in person, and was carried about in sumptuous carriages, with his cooks, valets and numerous household. He moved in the style of an Oriental Prince. Actors and musicians with accessories for operatic and theatric performance accompanied the march of the army, by whom the military glories of the King were portrayed in eulogistic and bombastic phrase. An audience, too, of courtiers, bedizened dames and titled amateurs of war moved with the army as a necessary part of the grand military promenade.

The journey through the conquered countries was a continuous fête—fire-works, masked balls and banquets proclaimed the entrance of the court and army into each submissive town, and the courts of the King and the Dauphin vied in magnificence. The king gave splendid reviews for the benefit of the ladies of the court, and all were merry, in the confidence of speedy and final conquest.

The ladies finally went to Dinant, while the king commenced the siege of Namur, on the Meuse, then one of the greatest fortresses of Europe, where to glorify himself, he nominally took command of the army. With him was Monseigneur his son, Monsieur d'Orleans his brother, M. le Prince, son of the great Condé, and also the bastard princes. Marshals D'Humières and Vauban conducted the siege, while the Duke of Luxembourg commanded the army of 80,000 men covering the operations, and stood prepared to give battle to any force that might attempt to raise the siege.

On the 8th day the town capitulated; and on the 27th of May, 1692, the citadel; and one of the strongest places of the Netherlands was occupied by a French garrison. The allied armies were slow to assemble for the succor of Namur—and, when in force, could do no more than fruitlessly menace the besiegers; and William became a mortified witness of this disaster to the allied arms.

Louis' personal movements during these sieges were varied with an occasional pretentious exposure to the not very precise balls and bullets of the day; which were all duly placarded and extolled, and added much to the halo of "glory" that was supposed always to encircle the head of the "*Grand Monarque*."

The presence of the ladies, however, often seriously interfered with the operations of war.

When Louis renewed his campaign in June, 1693, at the head of the French troops encamped at Gembloux, a few miles northwest of Namur, with the project of laying siege to either Brussels or Liege, he had William in a trap enclosed by two armies; and, having an innumerable force, could have obtained a complete triumph over the allied army. Persuaded by Madame de Maintenon he became tired of playing the hero, ignominiously quitted the field, dispersed his two armies, against the ardent expostulations of Luxembourg and Boufflers, and retired to enjoy the society of the ladies and the luxury and pomp of Versailles. The arms of France were humiliated—every soldier felt degraded—Louis became the laughing stock of his own army

and of Europe, and William, to his astonishment, found not only his own army, but the whole of the Netherlands saved from a disaster that seemed without remedy.

Amid all this pomp of war and pride of power and gorgeous array of gilded hosts that filled and stirred the brilliant scene, the mangled corpses of hecatombs of a simple humanity, ruined towns and devastated fields formed a dark and stern background; and the sighs of the bereaved and the wail from desolated homes played a sad and terrible undertone to accompany this glittering drama of blood.

It is a melancholy reflection, that, of all these wars the military results were the taking and retaking of the miserable towns on the frontiers, exposed ever to attack by one or other of the contending armies: Winter gave them some repose—but, with the breath of Spring, came the roar of artillery and the wild shouts of invading war.

In July, 1692, Luxembourg defeated King William's forces at the great battle of Steinkirk; and in the subsequent year in the desperately fought conflict at Neerwinden: in the latter fight the allies lost over 20,000 men with all their camp and artillery; and the French at least 10,000 of the best troops of the kingdom.

William, however, was neither disheartened nor discouraged by these defeats. He rallied his forces—got together other troops, and was, in a few weeks, prepared for further action.

The allies were generally unsuccessful, so far, in the war, except that the French troops sent to Ireland, in the cause of James, were driven from that country—and the cause of James was irretrievably lost.

In spite of his successes, however, Louis, seeing how France was becoming impoverished and depopulated, and for other reasons suggested below, made liberal overtures to Germany, and Holland and Spain, for peace. William III., however, did his utmost to prevent this being accomplished; and, by great efforts, succeeded in concentrating a mighty army of the allies in Flanders: Luxembourg, by skilful tactics, prevented any effective operations by the allies, except the taking of a few minor towns.

The war went on in the mean while, generally with success to the French, in Catalonia, in Piedmont and on the Rhine; and the naval forces of the belligerents had many severe engagements. Privateers swarmed in the seas, and the destruction of their merchant marine caused distress to the commerce of all the belligerents. During the year 1694, little progress was made by the French; the allied forces kept them in check, and the fortress of Huy, a place of some importance, was taken by William. The English and Dutch fleets now also controlled the seas, and bombarded the coasts of France.

In August, 1695, the king of England commanding the allies besieged, and after long and desperate fighting, retook Namur, in presence, almost, of the French army; while Villeroi, in return for this, and to divert the allies from the siege, bombarded Brussels and destroyed a third of it. The taking of Namur was a brilliant feat of the campaign, and caused exultation throughout Germany: the rejoicing in England, also, was great, and the mortification of the French extreme, at the loss of this great fortress, whose taking, three years before, had been the great military exploit of the French king. Pending the siege, even the powers of Heaven were appealed to for aid. Louis partook of the sacrament, and made confession of his many sins; while in order to propitiate celestial minds towards France, Madame de Maintenon and her nuns were not idle, and, on bended knees, with the telling of beads and the chanting of prayers, implored blessings on the guns of Boufflers, to the discomfiture of the detested William.

Notwithstanding the many victories and the general success of the French arms, Louis, disappointed in his efforts to dethrone William in England, and motivated, too, it is supposed, by a desire to break up the Grand Alliance, in view of the approaching decease of Charles II. of Spain, set on foot negotiations for peace. He succeeded in his efforts by gradually approaching members of the Grand Alliance, with special offers to their individual advantage. The first Prince to break the alliance was the Duke of Savoy, who made a treaty of neutrality, influenced by an offer to re-

turn his states to him, and a proposition to marry his daughter to the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of the King.

This defection of the Duke of Savoy and the very favorable overtures made by Louis, finally disposed William and the Emperor to the idea of peace.

The Emperor dreaded the effects of the campaign then threatening, and Spain was weakened by successive defeats and the loss of nearly all Catalonia. The war, however, continued during the years 1696 and the spring of 1697; but as the treasuries both of France and England were empty, the generals on either side were contented to keep their troops together and check each other's movements.

In March, 1697, William wrote to Heinsius, the Pensionary of Holland. "I foresee with you, to my great sorrow, that if we will have peace it must be against the consent of the House of Austria, which will meet with endless difficulties; but, I see no possibility of continuing the war in hopes of mending the situation of affairs and thereby bringing the enemy to more advantageous conditions; and, it is certain, that if the enemy gain great advantages over the House of Austria this campaign, then this last will be for peace, when it is too late." The conclusions of the Emperor and Spain were assisted by the fact that there were 80,000 French soldiers in Flanders under Villeroy, 40,000 on the borders of the Rhine, and Marshal Catinat, considered the most skilful of the French commanders of the day, was at the head of 40,000 men in Piedmont. Before the end of July, 1697, the terms of pacification, as between France and England, were definitely settled; and by the end of the year 1697, all parties to the great war, which had desolated Europe from Ireland to Piedmont and Spain, had entered into the Treaty—the Protestant German Princes holding out against it to the last, inasmuch, as by its terms, the Catholic religion was to be re-established in the restored places.

The war had been carried on on a scale heretofore unknown in European annals: France, although contending against all the great powers of western Europe, had been mainly successful in her military operations, but had added

nothing to her territory. She had retired from the combat exhausted as well as her enemies; and the bleeding countries she had overrun with her armies, unparalleled in numbers and equipment, wondered at the feebleness, the fickleness or the magnanimity that had made the first overtures for a peace that was welcomed by all, but which was to be, in effect, only a temporary truce to bloodshed.

THE PEACE OF RYSWICK, 1697.

The Congress for the treaty or series of treaties that was to terminate the great European war, which had now lasted for upwards of nine years, was held at Ryswick, a château near the Hague.

The conferences were opened in May, 1697. Among the countries represented were Sweden, Austria, France, Spain, England, Holland, Denmark and the various States of the German Empire. The treaties were signed, in severalty, between the different States, except Austria, in September and October, 1697, and with the Emperor, in November.

The principal features of the treaty were, as between France and Spain, that, the former country was to deliver to Spain Barcelona, and other places in Catalonia; also various places which France had taken in the Spanish Netherlands, during the war, including Luxembourg and its Duchy, Charleroi, Mons and Courtrai.

Various others were excepted, to be retained by France, as dependencies of French possessions.

The principal stipulations of the treaty, as between France and Great Britain, were that France formally *recognized William III. as lawful king of Great Britain*, and agreed not to trouble him in the possession of his dominions, and not to assist his enemies, directly or indirectly.

This article had particular relation to the partisans of the exiled Stuart king, then living in France. By another article, all places taken by either country in America, during the war, were to be relinquished, and the Principality of Orange and its estates situated in the south of France were to be restored to William. In the treaty with Holland,

certain possessions in the East Indies were to be restored to the Dutch East India Company: and important articles of commerce were appended, among which the principle was laid down that free ships should make free goods, not contraband of war.

By the treaty with the Emperor and the German States, the Treaties of Westphalia and Nymeguen were recognized as the basis of the Treaty of Ryswick, with such exceptions only as were to be provided in the latter treaty. France also was to give up all territory she had occupied or controlled before or during the war under the name of "re-unions," outside of Alsace, but the Roman Catholic religion was to be preserved in Alsace as it then existed.

This concession by France included among other places Freiburg, Brisach, and Treves; and certain restitutions were to be made by France, in favor of Spire, the Electors of Treves, and Brandenburg and the Palatinate; also, others in favor of certain of the smaller German Princes.

The city of Strasburg, in return, was formally ceded to France, the fortifications on the right bank to be raised, and the important fort of Kehl was yielded to the Empire.

The navigation of the Rhine was to be free to all persons. The Duke of Lorraine was to be restored to his possessions with such exceptions as were provided in the treaty.

By the terms of this treaty, a more advantageous peace was given to Spain than she had any expectation of; they gave great satisfaction to the Spaniards, and led them to regard Louis, not only as a magnanimous monarch, but one inclined to feelings of a particularly friendly character towards Spain.

Not only were the places taken in Spain, including the numerous fortified places in Catalonia yielded up, but also, with some exceptions, those in the Spanish Netherlands, and also the important territory of Luxembourg; some places were even yielded to Spain that France had gained under former treaties. As Spain was not only enfeebled but almost helpless, under long continued aggressions and spoliations by France, this extraordinary generosity, it was supposed by the politicians of the day, was due to some-

thing more than friendly feeling on the part of the French king.

In effect, motives of keen policy underlied these apparently magnanimous acts. The King of France desired to disunite the allies, and to make alliances for himself with some of them, particularly Spain, and to prepare the way by ingratiating himself with the Spaniards, for carrying out his views for the succession to the Spanish throne, in favor of a prince of the House of Bourbon; the health of the King of Spain being such, that, at any day, the question as to the succession to his throne might arise.

Thus the war of nine years' duration was brought to a close, without results of a particular character affecting the *status* of the States engaged, except that William was recognized as King of England, and France abandoned most of her conquests. In spite of these concessions, however, William for a long time opposed the peace; and saw in it a mere truce, in behalf of France, to gain strength and repose with a view to further war. The beneficial results of the war, however, were temporarily, at least, to check the ambitious career of Louis, in his aim at European dominion, to protect the lesser states, whose safety was promoted by the watchfulness and jealousies of the more powerful, and to maintain the equilibrium that was now deemed a requisite in European politics.

It was evident that Louis considered that France should have rest, thereby to recruit her strength for a greater struggle, if any might ensue. She had been made miserable by the war, and in the midst of the *Te Deums* of victory the people were starving; manufactures were neglected, and the debts of the State were being multiplied. Her resources had been drained—the war had no real basis—and sufficient “glory” had been gained. She was making herself the enemy of all Europe, and her own people cursed the victories which only brought new taxes, and raised the number of recruits who were sent to the frontier to be made new victims of a war in which they had no interest, and to the success of which they were indifferent—in fact, every reason of policy and prudence dictated peace.

CHAPTER V.

Persecution of Protestants in France.—Review of Sectarianism.—Early Christian Sects, and their Differences.—The Reformation.—Intolerance in England.—Henry IV.—Mary.—Elizabeth.—St. Bartholomew's Eve.—James I. and Charles I.—Intolerance in New England.—The Thirty Years' Religious War.—The Inquisition.—The Edict of Nantes.—The Protestants after the Death of Henry IV.—Under Louis XIII.—Suppression of their Political Power by Richelieu.—Protestants driven into Exile.—Their Condition under Mazarin.—Action of Louis XIV.—Edicts from 1651–1659 and 1674.—New Oppression.—Conversions.—Barbarous Cruelties.—Letters of Madame de Maintenon on the King's Holy Zeal.—Glorification of Louis, as a Reformer.—Formal Revocation of the Edict in 1685.—Exultation at Court.—Fulsome Panegyric by Bossuet.—Renewed Cruelties.—Protestants Escape from France.—Persecutions of the Dead.—National and International Effect of the Revocation.

MERE difference of opinion has ever been a fruitful source of strife.

Especially have those cherishing religious dogmas entertained feelings of hostility towards those who would not be convinced.

Even men, wise and humane, will join in a bitter hue and cry on questions, the truth or falsity of which is not susceptible of proof, and the truth or falsity of which is of no real concern to humanity.

There is no injustice so great, no prejudice so bitter, no hate so lasting, no enmity so unrelenting as that which has its foundation in sectarian opposition.

No deeds have been so bloody, no persecutions so cruel, no wars so terrible, as those instigated by differences of religious credence; and, it may be said, that no acts have been more shameful to humanity than those that make the ecclesiastical history of civilized Europe.

Races, nations and individuals resolved theological questions by mutual slaughter.

The Christian dove, surviving the attacks of Paganism, as it sailed down the tide of centuries, became as a vulture smeared with gore; and the blood of Christian sectaries flowed from wounds, mutually inflicted, as deep as those ever made by a Nero or a Diocletian. The theological variation of the numerous sects, even of Christian belief, that have been and are, astonish, confound and confuse us—not only those of semi-barbarian periods but among the enlightened. Looking back, from apostolic time, the schisms and sects have followed in a continuous and turbid stream.

The Gnostics with their *æons* and *demi-urge*, the Manichæans with their dualism and paraclete—the doctrines of Sabellius with his one essence, balanced by Arius and his triple division—the doctrine of the “*Omoousios*” affirmed as a fundamental truth under Constantine, and the “*Omoiousiose*” upheld under Valens—the “double incarnate nature” of the Nestorians, maintained as an article of faith by the Council at Seleucia, and overthrown by the Eutychians, at the Council of Ephesus—the Pelagians with their innate goodness of man, condemned as a heresy by the Councils of Carthage and Ephesus, and upheld, as true doctrine, by the Council of Diosipolis—Cassian and his followers denying the necessity of “inward preventing grace,” and his opponents upholding that it was a *sine qua non*.

The *Iconolatæ*, or image-worshippers, on one side, and the Image-breakers on the other, discussing the matter in blood.

Arminius and his free-will thinkers with one view, and the Gomarists and Superlapsarians with the opposite: Calvin’s grim doctrine of predestination, and Luther’s of the action of the Will. The great schism of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as with the Latin, or without him, as with the Greek. The theories of Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation or Symbolism of the Eucharist, as upheld by this or that sect with fire and axe.

The Divine prerogative of Kings, or the higher prerogative of the Pope; the Socinians and the Trinitarians—the broad church and the narrow church—and the phantasies

of Swedenborgian, the Self-inspiration of the Quaker, and the illusions of hundreds of other metaphysical enthusiasts.

The Pagans, when they had the upper hand, slaughtered Christian and Jew; the Jews, when they had the power, persecuted Christians; and the latter, in their turn, attacked Jews—and then persecuted each other. The orthodoxy of the moment burned schismatics, and schismatics heretics.

Ecclesiarch opposed Heresiarch; and both of them used, as arguments, steel and fire against each other and their mutual opponents. The sacredness of human life, all liberty of body and spirit, were put at the mercy of the imaginings of the day and hour. The great cardinal virtues seemed lost in the maniacal excesses of sectarian jealousy; and the very foundations of religion were sapped by the spirit that sought to sustain it, as each sect denounced all others and claimed the prerogative of thinking for the rest of the world.

The sixteenth and even the early part of the seventeenth centuries witnessed but little diminution of religious intolerance, although civilization, in other respects, had made progress out of the gloom of the dark ages. The violence and inhumanity that prevailed, during the period of the Reformation in Germany, are familiar to all who read, and, even in England, the history of the origin and progress of the Reformed religion is not more grateful to the Christian mind. Religion was enlisted, in turn, by king, prelate and zealot, as an auxiliary to gratify lust, ambition, hate or revenge; and as an instrument to grasp or strengthen political power. The despotic monarchs, Henry the Eighth, Mary, Elizabeth, James and Charles—ambitious prelates like Woolsey and Pole—obsequious tools of tyranny, like Cromwell under Henry, and Strafford under Charles—arbitrary primates, like Cranmer and Laud, and bloody bishops like Gardiner and Bonner—unseated abbots, unfrocked priests, deprived curates, and the martyred laity—Romanist and Protestant, Conformist and Dissenter, Puritan and Malignant—pass along the tide of History the actors in a great

drama of blood!—The Reformed Prelacy became a mere part of State machinery of which the Crown was the head: and any question of spiritual as well as civil supremacy of king or queen was visited as a felony. Religious opinion became not a matter of faith, but of treason or allegiance. Not only were outward acts criminal, but the conscience was dragged out and shackled; for even silence became a crime, and oaths were applied to test those who maintained their opinions in secret.

Theretofore dubbed "*Defensor Ecclesiæ*," as a faithful son of Rome, little was required to change the creed of the vacillating tyrant, Henry VIII., since upheld by history to the scorn and contempt of posterity. For the first twenty years of his reign the Tower was filled with Protestants—for the next ten, with Papists—and, for the remainder, the Reformers bowed beneath the arch of the Bloody Tower.

The horrible incidents of the succeeding reign are familiar. In the three years of Mary's persecution three hundred victims perished at the stake.

Archbishop and bishop, priest and layman, lordly prelate and humble worshipper, men stout of heart and limb, who cursed the she-devil as they died, and trembling women and harmless boys—all, alike, yielded their lives at the mandate of this royal Fury, whose commission for the suppression of heresy made short work of those who did not bend to her relentless fanaticism. "Good Queen Bess" used also to hang people for their religious abstractions, even although unimpeachable in their loyalty. Under the tender reign of this virgin monarch, the "Duke of Exeter's daughter" and "the Scavenger's daughter," and the five other deadly racks, were kept busy in the Tower; and men of blameless life were burned for Arian views, or for circulating pamphlets criticizing ecclesiastical courts and ceremonies. Under this "glorious reign" the Inquisitorial Court of the High Commission was created; and arbitrary conviction and punishment was enforced by compelling an oath to be taken by parties suspected of so-called *heresy*. Meanwhile, over the water, St. Bartholomew was holding his *festival*—Charles IX. was shooting his Reformed subjects

from his palace window ; and twenty thousand of them were butchered into eternity, amid the yells and execrations of their dogmatic fellow-citizens.

When the pedant James, the lauded translator of the Bible, became King, he illustrated some of its principles in this wise, when speaking of his Puritan subjects: "I will *make them conform*, or I will harry them out of the land, or else, worse, I will only hang them—that's all." He burned Edward Wightman and Bartholomew Legate, for upholding Unitarian ideas. The opinions of the latter, the royal buffoon tried to overcome by argument, but, being worsted therein, issued against his opponent the writ "*de hæretico comburendo*," which closed the argument at the stake.

Under Charles I., men of high social standing had their ears cut off at the public pillory: or were branded for what were called libels on the established discipline of the church of England.

This Monarch's savage Primate, Laud, was as great a tyrant over the mind and conscience, as was his master over the civil rights of his subjects. During this comparatively modern reign, the courts of High Commission and the Star Chamber were used as a standing means of attack against Puritan ministers: and holy and wise men were whipped, pilloried and maimed for any question of the powers of the prelacy. Although the scaffold may be deemed too severe, there is little lament, now, even from English minds, as History analyzes and groups the incidents of this disgraceful reign, that Strafford, Laud and King Charles "*the martyr*," as he is styled, in sympathy—all conspirators against the mind and body of the subject—met with the stern retribution that they did from the humanity they had outraged and trampled upon.

What wonder is there, amid these persecutions, that those professing a simple faith, in England, and desiring to be freed from an oppressive hierarchy, should have turned their backs upon their ancient home, and sought, in the wilderness of America, freedom to worship God in peace, and that liberty of thought and action which has always been an aspiration of humanity?

Unlike those who settled the Southern American continent—for this mere liberty of conscience and from no hope of gain, the Protestant pilgrims abandoned their native land, battled in frail barks the tempestuous ocean, encountered famine, and fought, for very existence, with the forces of nature and a savage foe.

But, it is a strange illustration of human weakness, that these victims of religious persecution should have, in turn, sought to shackle conscience and oppose toleration.

The practice and the principles of the Puritan immigrants became far from harmonious. The rigid lines of their established faith were drawn as strictly, and maintained, almost as ruthlessly, as in the fatherland, and the governing authority exacted conformity in spiritual matters, as the condition of civil freedom.

Those who had been branded as heretics stigmatized others as heretics, for differences on theological abstractions, and even for non-conformity to church routine.

The persecuted in turn, turned persecutors, and visited upon others the treatment against which, as an outrage upon human rights, they had solemnly protested—and maiming, banishment, scourging and the gibbet were the means used to discipline the church, to prevent religious vagaries, and to cast out offending Sectarianism.

Toleration was never allowed in Massachusetts until the declaration of indulgence of James II. established it. It has been remarked, as a singular feature in the History of New England theology, that there was no freedom of conscience and worship there, until it was established by a tyrant and a bigot, who was a Romanist.

During the great thirty years' religious war in Western Europe, in the early portion of the seventeenth century, the enmity between Lutheran and Calvinist equalled their mutual hatred of the Romanist. Incendiarism, robbery and slaughter were the only arguments thought of—Religion was used as a cloak for ambition and rapine: and, in its name, all Germany was laid waste—"Soldiers," says a contemporary, "treated men and women as none but the vilest of mankind would now treat brute beasts. Out-

rages of unspeakable atrocity were committed everywhere—their flesh pierced with needles or cut to the bone with saws—others were scalded with boiling water, or hunted with dogs.”

While all this bloody work was going on among the enlightened Protestants of England and her American Colonies, and between the hostile Religionists, in Germany, the Inquisition, as a great State Tribunal, was busy with the rack and the stake, in Spain, Italy and Portugal. The Royal family in those countries respectively, and the dignitaries of the realm, lay and ecclesiastical, felt it a duty to society, and to God, to sit in state, in the public square, as the grim procession of helpless victims filed by—clad in their sheepskin sacks and hideously painted conical caps—guarded by the Holy brethren and familiars, who raised on high the cross of salvation in witness of their pious zeal, and sang pæans to the Heavenly powers, who were supposed to look down upon the writhing of Jew and Heretic at the stake, with a peculiar satisfaction.

Thus Sectarianism, calling herself Faith or Zeal, moved on almost hand in hand with civilization.

She it was that raised the cross on Calvary, lighted the fagots of Nero, and let loose the tigers of Diocletian—she held the poison cup to Socrates and chained Luther and Galileo—she led Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer to their doom at London, Servetus at Geneva, and Savonarola at Florence—she persecuted the Lollards in the 15th, and the Huguenots in the 16th century, hung the witches at Salem, and the Quakers at Boston, turned all Germany into a desert and kept alive the fires of the Inquisition.

A new and terrible Chapter was still to be added to the long history of crime perpetrated in the name of Religion.

After the decease of Henry IV., there became manifest a disposition in the French government, generally under Jesuit influence, to curtail the religious liberty and restrict the political power of the Huguenots—they having had accorded to them by the Edict of Nantes not only liberty of conscience and worship, but certain special political rights, for their protection.

Not only the government became jealous of the increasing numbers and power of the Protestants, but the Roman Catholic priesthood, from the pulpit, rekindled the ancient sectarian animosity, and, finally, a continuous series of encroachments on their rights, under Louis XIII., drove the Huguenots of Bearn, Guienne and Languedoc into open resistance, and subsequently those of Normandy, Picardy and Champagne.

The grand ideas of Richelieu, as Prime Minister, were to concentrate the power of the Crown and strengthen the hand of the Church. To both of these Protestantism was an impediment; and, therefore, both as minister and priest, Richelieu was unremitting in his action to diminish the importance of Protestantism, both as a civil and religious institution.

After putting down all resistance and driving thousands into exile from their native land, who flew for freedom and repose to England, Holland and the new settlements of America, Protestantism no longer existed in France, except on the terms of perfect submission to government.

The political rights of Protestantism, under the Edict of Henry IV., were virtually abrogated; and its religious existence was the result, no longer, of solemn compact but of a frowning tolerance that daily became less inclined to indulgence.

Under the latter part of the administration of Richelieu, in the stormy days of the Fronde, and, under Mazarin, there was comparative rest for the persecuted religionists; and they continued to form a large, useful, skilled and industrious part of the great population of France. But the clouds of Bigotry were again gathering, soon to burst, in a manner even more terrible and destructive than in the memorable days of St. Bartholomew.

During a few years before Louis XIV. took upon himself the reins of government, (*viz.* 1651 to 1659) various edicts and ordinances were passed, seriously impairing the rights of Protestants, in their worship. These measures became more and more intolerant under pressure from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, jealous of the progress of an opposing

and intrusive religion : and soon a persistent, active, and, in the end, a most sanguinary State persecution began against all professing the Reformed faith, contemptuously termed "*heretics*."

This religious war against a large, well-behaved and useful class of citizens began, by the court withholding all places of honor and profit from Protestants, the prohibition of the holding of their national and provincial synods, the punishment of Roman Catholic converts to Protestantism, and the exclusion of Protestants from industrial guilds.

Then came decrees, in 1665 and 1666, allowing Protestant children to change their religion, in spite of their parents ; and Churchmen became busy in snatching "heretic" children from the "devil." Edicts authorizing priests to go to the bed-side of dying Protestants, when ill, and prohibiting the establishment of academies by Protestants, and regulating the forms of the Protestant religion were also passed.

Restrained by the wise and just counsels of Colbert, Louis refrained, for a time, from further aggression upon his Protestant subjects. In 1674, however, and down to the final revocation of the great Edict, the oppression of the Protestants was resumed and continued in a manner as politically unwise as it was arbitrary and cruel.

By various new edicts and decrees, children could be taken from their parents, backsliders were punished with banishment and confiscation ; Protestants were excluded from public functions, Protestant chapels were demolished, Reformers were excluded from leasing the Crown farms, mixed marriages were interdicted, troops guilty of barbarous excesses were billeted upon Protestant families, property of the churches was confiscated, and pastors banished : to all this was added the horror of military tribunals and executions without trial.

Those who sought to leave the country were arrested by spies and guards ; and terrible penalties were inflicted upon the fugitives when apprehended.

All these barbarous measures and the supposed conversion of many to the "*faith*" was considered as adding

greatly to the *glory* of the king's reign; and, indeed, to place a celestial halo around his head.

In the enthusiasm of his bigoted zeal, and to swell the number of converts, Louis devoted one-third of his "economies" to the cause; many were brought to a supposed state of conversion through the golden eloquence of six livres a piece, and the King was as highly extolled for invading and subduing the kingdom of Satan, as for conquests over the Spaniards and the Dutch.

These religious triumphs operated as a "*placebo*," also, to his majesty's royal conscience for many and flagrant sins: and the death and ruin of thousands of his subjects innocent of all crime, was the price to be paid for his heavenly absolution and a needful oblation offered to the King of Kings!

His religious zeal, in this regard, when flagging, was stimulated by the expostulations of Madame de Maintenon, by whose special direction many of the arrests were made, and by Père La Chaise, the adroit and insinuating Jesuit confessor, and ally of Maintenon; and, even by the virtuous Bossuet, all of whom had combined to set up this new school of religious reform, assisted by the brutal soldiery directed by Louvois—all banded together in order to obtain the salvation of the King, the aggrandizement of Rome, and their own favor at Court, either by the conversion or destruction of thousands of their fellow-citizens. In 1679 Madame de Maintenon writes: "The King is full of good sentiments; he sometimes reads the Scriptures and he thinks them the best of all books. He recognizes and avows his weaknesses and faults. We must wait until Grace reaches him. He thinks seriously of the conversion of the Heretics, and soon we will set to work at it."

It is instructive to observe the force of the word "*we*" in the above letter.

"The King," Madame de Maintenon writes, in August, 1681, "begins to think seriously of his salvation and of that of his subjects. If God preserves him to us there will be no longer but one religion in the Kingdom."

This being freely interpreted meant increasing persecu-

tion, and the complete interdiction of the Reformed worship.

Troops were let loose afresh, upon the Protestants in Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne and Languedoc; and the Court boasted of the so-called conversion of hundreds of terrified Protestants, who were beaten and dragooned and crazed into a temporary apostacy. "There is not a courier," writes Madame de Maintenon, in Sept., 1685, "that does not bring the King great causes of joy in the news of conversion, by thousands."

The glorification of Louis, at these spiritual triumphs over his feeble subjects, was sounded by prelate and courtier: he began to feel that he was at the head of a holy mission—a crusade to extirpate a great heresy,—and the entire and formal Revocation of the Edict of Nantes soon followed—the noblest feature of his grandfather's reign, which was binding in honor and right on his successors, and had been trusted in and accepted by all classes of his subjects.

This outrage was perpetrated under the immediate advice of *Père La Chaise*, and the Minister, Louvois, stimulated by the bigot, De Maintenon.

Charlotte Elizabeth d'Orleans, wife of the King's brother and mother of the future Regent, who was behind the scenes at the French court, in one of her letters to a German friend, thus forcibly gives her testimony to these operations of De Maintenon and the Jesuits.

"Before that old hag reigned here, Religion in France was reasonable; but she destroyed all that, by her absurd bigotry and foolish devotions; and when people wished to be reasonable, the old woman and the Confessor threw them into prison or exiled them. They are, both of them, the cause of all the persecutions in France, directed against the poor Reformers and Lutherans. That long-eared Jesuit commenced operations in accord with the old hag, and Father Le Tellier carried it on to the end. By their operations France has been entirely ruined!"

On October 17, 1685, the Revocation was formally signed that made this unholy reign peculiarly infamous—and an

order followed for the demolition of all the remaining Protestant churches in France. Reformers were prohibited from leaving the kingdom, under penalty of the galleys for life, and confiscation of all their property: other terrible orders followed, and soldiers were given license, by their brutality, to hasten the making of converts. Torture, imprisonment, robbery, murder and wholesale slaughter were part of the machinery employed, to all which the clergy gave their zealous accord. The Vaudois, who took refuge in Piedmont, were butchered, in masses, by the troops of France and Savoy, and new Pæans went up in praise of the great King. "Let us pour forth our hearts, in praise of Louis," preached the truckling Bossuet, in his panegyric over the remains of Le Tellier, who drew up the infamous Edict, "let us lift our acclamations to Heaven,—and let us say to this new Constantine,—to this new Theodosius—to this new Marcianus—to this new Charlemagne, 'You have strengthened the faith—you have exterminated the heretics,—this is the meritorious work of your reign—its peculiar characteristic. Through you, Heresy is no more!'—God, alone, could have wrought this great wonder!"

Statues were raised and medals struck to this new Pillar of the Faith—Poets twanged the fulsome lyre—Litterateurs and pulpit orators ceased not to exalt his name—and "*Te Deums*" pealed throughout the land, echoing those offered up by direction of the Pope, at Rome, in commemoration of the great work carried on by this (inaptly styled) "*Most Christian King!*"*

After the Revocation, the Government redoubled its vigor to prevent emigration. Desolation reigned throughout the persecuted Provinces, revolting cruelties were perpe-

* A medal was struck to commemorate, as a great exploit, the revocation of the Edict; the obverse represented a female with a cross in her hand, and her foot on a prostrate Protestant, with the legend "*Heresy extinguished—Edict of October, 1685.*"

On another, of date 1685, the King is represented as being crowned by Religion, while he is trampling Protestantism under his feet. The motto is, "For having brought back to the bosom of the church 2,000,000 Calvinists."

trated, under the orders of the King and his inhuman minister, by *Dragoon* and *Priest*, and new modes of torture were invented by the Intendants of Provinces, seeking thus to curry favor at court: pastors re-entering the kingdom were punished with death—and infants were seized at the breast. The Bible was burnt by the executioner—gentlemen of rank and name were sent to the galleys—the heads of ladies were shaved for singing the Psalms of David in French—Pastors were broken on the wheel, for not having abandoned their flocks—old men were dragged to the Romanish Altars by blaspheming soldiers, who ordered them to worship their God—those relapsing were thrown into dungeons—parents were condemned on the charge of their children, and children were torn from Parents and died starving or insane—in dungeons or Jesuit colleges and convents. Roman Priests were forced upon the dying, and those abetting Protestants in their escape were condemned to death. In ten years' time more than ten thousand persons became the prey of the stake and the gibbet. Under the accumulation of horrors imposed upon them, French Protestants rushed from their native land, in spite of spies and guards. More than 200,000—some estimate the number as high as 500,000—fled into exile, during these twenty years of oppression, and sought refuge in England, Germany, Holland and Denmark, where they became useful citizens, added the wealth of their skilled industry to the States that sheltered them, and very many turned their arms, in spite of lingering patriotism, against the tyrant who had oppressed them. Large numbers, who remained and adopted, in form, the Roman Catholic faith, became neither actual converts nor contented subjects. This hypocritical conformity was to many the only refuge from the diabolical persecution which followed them even on their death-beds and to the tomb—for this was a part of the Edict of 29 April, 1686—"Protestants who are sick and refuse the *viaticum*, are to be considered and punished as apostates, if they return to health—the men are to be condemned to the galleys for life, the women to prison, and to the loss of their property; *in case of death*, their goods are to be sold, their

bodies unearthed and thrown into a ditch!" If a converted person refused the Sacrament when dying, a review of the case was held over the remains, and the body was ordered to be dragged in quick lime so as to be a terror to others." Through the above emigration, the most useful subjects of France, and many good soldiers were lost to the State; and this extraordinary persecution, unexampled in modern times, has been considered by all modern historians, of every faith, as not only a great moral crime, but an extraordinary political blunder. The loss of so many subjects perceptibly weakened the Kingdom, and made it less prepared for the sanguinary war of the "*Spanish Succession*" soon to follow; and the cruelties practised embittered the Protestant Princes of Europe against France, and promoted their alliances to oppose her.

In the meanwhile, remote from this Golgotha of tears and blood, the festivals, amid the rustic enchantments of Marly and the gilded halls of Versailles, went on; and the jewelled and spangled throng revelled as of yore—the fiddlers of Lulli played their lively strains—opera and mask and theatrical display, gay intrigue, piquant satire, and the lively epigram beguiled the hour—and courtier and smirking jezebel, and debased sycophant flattered, and grovelled before the sceptred idol whose fortune was deemed divine, and the Chimera, called "Glory," hovered about his sacred head!

A Moloch was stalking about the land demanding sacrifices of human blood—but a stern *Nemesis*—daughter of Night—the humbler of the proud—the avenger of Crime—held the sword that was soon to smite the King in all that was dear—to strike off his crown of glory for one of shame, and to bring him and his Kingdom to sorrow and humiliation!

Could the future be revealed by such as haunted the blasted heath, there would have stood before the King three grim figures—stern ministers of fate, avengers of innocent blood—men of war, who sought not dominion, but who felt it a sacred duty to Europe and humanity, to arrest the reckless course of ambition and bigotry which

was desolating Europe, and paralyzing human progress—men who never were to sheathe sword until Europe should breathe free of the Incubus that weighted upon its liberties and its repose.—These men were William of Orange, Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

CHAPTER VI.

The Spanish Succession.—Charles II. of Spain.—His feeble Health.—Ancient Laws of the Succession.—Claims of the House of Bourbon.—Marriages of Louis XIII. and of Louis XIV.—Renunciations of the two French Queens.—Claims of the House of Austria.—Claims of Bavaria.—Interests of England and Holland in the Succession.—Claims of Savoy and the Duke of Orleans.

CHARLES II. OF SPAIN.

CHARLES II., born in 1661, was only son of Philip IV., and the last male of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria, which was established in Spain through Charles V.

Towards the close of the 17th century, the days of Charles, although he was still in the prime of life, were evidently drawing to an end.

His decease had been long anticipated as an event of deep concern in the politics of Europe; originally weak of constitution and long a prey to disease, his feeble health made that great political event now imminent.

Charles' life had been one of sadness and calamity; his father had died while he was an infant; his country had been desolated by numerous wars, involving many serious disasters and loss of territory—and, at last, sunk into a state of penury and almost helplessness, the Peace of Ryswick had given Spain a welcome relief.

The Spanish kingdom, at this time, comprehended not only the Spanish Peninsula, but Naples, Sicily, the Spanish Netherlands, portions of northern Italy, Mexico, Peru, and various Islands in the Mediterranean and on the Ocean—a vast dominion for one poor head and feeble body to control or even supervise. So little was Charles cognizant of public affairs, that he did not even know of what States his dominions consisted; and, it is said, that when *Mons*

was taken, during the late war with France, the King inquired in what country it was situated!

Charles had married, in 1679, Marie Louise d'Orleans, daughter of Philippe, only brother of Louis XIV.; and, in a second marriage, Maria Anna of Bavaria, Princess of Neuborg, sister of the Empress; but there were no children by either marriage.

LAWS OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

By the ancient custom of Gothic or Christian Spain, which custom was continued in those parts not subjugated to Moorish rule, the crown was nominally elective, but, as is usual where elective systems have existed, a dominant family became, in time, the apparent heirs to a hereditary right.

The ancient laws of Spanish succession made no exception, as against the inheritance of females, either to the ownership of fiefs or to succession to the crown, in default of male heirs in a direct line. Consequently, if a monarch died without sons, or male or female descendants of sons, the eldest daughter of the deceased monarch succeeded to the throne; but any legitimate child of a son of that monarch would take precedence of such oldest daughter, whether such child were male or female, the male having preference. By this principle, females in the direct line were preferred to males of the more remote line.

These principles of ancient custom were, from time to time, formulated and enacted into positive laws, and recognized by various proclamations and enactments, from the thirteenth through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

They were modified, however, immediately after the great treaty to be hereafter considered, by Philip V. (the Bourbon) when firmly established on the throne.

By this modification or change, males of any degree of remoteness were preferred to females; in default of which former, however, a female might succeed.

The above principles of succession, as changed by Philip

V., were again subsequently modified and the ancient custom of descent fully restored.

This law of succession to the crown of Spain was opposite to the principle of the so-called law of the Salians, or "*Salic law*," which prevailed in France; by which females were, in all cases, excluded from inheriting landed property and also the Crown.

THE CLAIMS OF FRANCE.

At the time the attention of Europe began to be directed toward the succession to the Spanish throne, Louis the Dauphin of France, the only legitimate son of Louis XIV., apart from any obstacles made by certain renunciations hereafter referred to, was the legitimate heir, through his mother, according to the rules of pure hereditary descent, in Spain, which admitted, as is above seen, female descent, when there was no male representative equally near.

The Dauphin's mother was Maria Theresa, the *eldest* daughter of Philip IV., which latter died without male heirs other than Charles the moribund tenant of the throne. Maria Theresa, the French Queen, had died in 1683.

The marriage of Louis XIII. must now be referred to. The marriage of Louis XIII., to Anne of Austria (so called), who was a daughter of Philip III. and sister of Philip IV. of Spain, took place in 1615. This marriage was one of policy, entered into with a view to promote the alliance between France and Spain, which had long stood in an attitude hostile to each other.

By the terms of this marriage, between Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria, the far-sighted policy of the House of Austria had provided, in specific terms, against the probability of the succession of the new French Queen or her descendants to the Spanish throne: to which under the principles of Spanish succession she or her descendants might become entitled. The specific words of the contract, in this regard, are "That the most Serene Infanta, Donna Anna, and her children, male or female, or their descendants, in whatever degree, shall not succeed to the king-

doms, estates and lordships which belong to his Catholic Majesty."

The provisions of this marriage contract, as to the succession of Anne of Austria, were afterwards ratified by her, when she became of age; as also by her husband, Louis XIII., the then King of France—and were established by the Spanish King and Cortes as a law of the Spanish Kingdom.

The contentions of France with Spain under the Hapsburg dynasty, during the minority of Louis XIV., had resulted in extending the limits of French power on all sides—and, finally, found, apparently, a peaceful result by the treaty of the Pyrenees and by the marriage, in June, 1660, of Louis XIV. with the daughter of the King of Spain, Maria Theresa, of Austria.

In the contract of marriage between Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa, in November, 1659, it was recited that the marriage was not only made, for special reasons of peace and fraternity, between the two nations, but also for "*that which concerns the public good and for the preservation of the two Crowns, which, being so great and powerful, they cannot be consolidated into one; and that hereafterward, all occasions for such a junction are to be avoided.*"

It was, thereupon, stipulated that "*Maria Theresa, her children male or female and their descendants, in any degree, should be absolutely and for all time precluded from succession to the Spanish Crown or any of its dominions, within or without the Kingdom of Spain, notwithstanding all laws, dispositions or customs to the contrary.*"

It was also stipulated, however, that if Maria Theresa were to become a widow, without children of the marriage, the exclusion against her of succession to the throne of Spain was not to take effect. To these renunciations of Maria Theresa and to the stipulations of the treaty, Louis had given, not only his assent, but had, in writing ratifying the treaty, made a solemn oath, with this invocation: "*On our honor, our faith and the word of a king, we swear, on the cross, on the holy Evangelists, and the Sacrifices of the Mass, which we have touched, that we will observe and carry out, entirely, in good faith, all and each of the points and*

articles contained in this treaty of peace, reconciliation and friendship." A formal renunciation of all the rights of Maria Theresa and that of her children to the Crown of Spain, agreeably to the terms of the contract, was afterwards made, under her own signature, by that Queen, stated to be, in the act, "*by her own motion and free, spontaneous and thereunto disposed will.*"

This act was signed by Maria Theresa, in the presence of her father and his court, at Fontarabia, on the Spanish border, on the 2d of June, 1660, as she was proceeding to France to be received as the wife of Louis XIV.

"In espousing the Infanta," wrote Mazarin to the French Minister at Munster, blandly taking a distant prospect of possibilities, "we may look forward to the succession to the Spanish throne, whatever renunciations they may cause the Infanta to make, and it will not be far off, since there is only the life of the prince, her brother, in the way."

It was evident, in spite of the above two renunciations by the two Queens of France, that, from the time of the marriage of Louis XIV. with the Infanta, France looked upon Spain with an eager eye, as the old line descended from Charles V. gave evidence of its extinction, at no distant period.

In the will of Philip IV., who died in 1665, he, in express terms, recites the renunciations of his sister, Anne of Austria, and of his daughter, Maria Theresa, and the descendants of either, to all claim upon the Spanish Crown. The understanding of the Spanish court upon the subject was, therefore, clear.

The terms of the contract of marriage, excluding Maria Theresa from the Spanish succession, were not, it appears from documents almost contemporaneous, regarded by the French diplomatists as strict obligations; particularly in view of the fact that the dowry of 500,000 crowns stipulated in the contract to be paid by Spain within 18 months was not paid. This, it was diplomatically alleged, left the door open to France to repudiate, if she chose, the other part of the treaty obligation; that is, the renunciation of all right

to the Spanish Crown by Maria Theresa, for herself and her children.

Such, at least, was subsequently the construction assumed, under the French view: and, indeed, it was supposed, that the omission to exact the dowry was intentional, so as to leave the question of succession open so far as the French were concerned; the dowry being treated as a *quid pro quo* for the renunciation.

Besides this view, that the claims of the French line were not cut off, for the reason that the dowry or *quasi* consideration of the renunciation had never been paid, another reason urged by French statesmen, was, that neither Maria Theresa, nor even the King of France, himself, had the inherent power, by any contract, renunciation or treaty, to bind children yet unborn, and cut off the legitimate succession to the Spanish kingdom, according to its laws.

At any rate, it was considered that any renunciation was revocable, particularly where the parties interested should all consent.

Therefore, it was argued, that, if the French King, the Dauphin, the Spanish King, and the Spanish people, for whose particular benefit the compact was made, all chose to revoke the contract, the outside powers had no valid ground of complaint.

These were the views that the statesmen of France entertained, on this important matter. Another view was that the renunciation of Anne of Austria had been presented to the Estates of Castile and Aragon and ratified by them; that of Maria Theresa had not been ratified by those Estates; and this was also one of the reasons subsequently advanced by casuists and jurisconsults, in deciding that the descendants of Maria Theresa were the legitimate heirs of the Crown of Spain. The minority of Maria Theresa, when the renunciation was signed, was also urged.

The feeble condition of the young Spanish King, and the probability of his speedy decease, without descendants, caused grave apprehension at the French Court, in view of the claim that had long been advanced by the House of Austria to succeed to the Spanish Crown. A permanent

alliance or concord between France and Spain, in view of their contiguity, was desirable, it was urged, not only for France, but for both countries: the sympathy of Latin races, somewhat of a common origin, and similarity of tastes and language in many respects, made such an alliance or union natural.

France desired a permanent ally on her southern frontier, both for protection and for commercial or economic reasons; and it would be impossible for her political relations with Spain to be ever amicable so long as the House of Hapsburg was at the head of the Spanish nation.

An Austrian or German control of the region South of her was a political disadvantage, particularly, as to the North East and South East the Spanish possessions in Flanders and in Italy were a continual source of menace.

The Crowns of Austria and France had been in almost continual hostility since the unity of the domains of the Emperor with those of Spain, the presence of the House of Hapsburg in Spain was always an irritation, and recent wars had embittered the unfriendly feeling. During the war of Philip II. against the United Provinces, France had opposed the Germano-Spanish power; France had taken the side of the German Protestant Princes against the Emperor, during the 30 years' war; and, under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., war with Spain had been continuous.

A possible unification of the Austrian and Spanish crowns, therefore, would doubtless result, it was supposed, in a perpetual contest; and France, again, might be humbled by a power as colossal as that under which Francis I. had succumbed, when Charles V. held the united power of both Germany and Spain. Consequently, another such union of the crowns was deemed by France full of peril to her and a menace to the public peace.

The same principles would apply, however, in the eyes of the other nationalities, against the assumption of France to place a representative of the reigning Bourbon family on the Spanish throne. The House of Bourbon controlling the power of the two crowns of France and Spain might be as perilous to the other States as the possession of the double

crown by Austria. In either case, the disturbance of the political balance would be a subject of apprehension by them.

But the general feeling in Europe, was in opposition to the extension of the rule of the Bourbons; particularly, in view of the fact, that the Emperor was always under the control of the German principalities, to whom he owed his elevation and his power; and by whom, in case of undue aggression, he might be restrained.

THE CLAIMS OF AUSTRIA.

The claims of Austria to the succession of the Spanish crown were based upon the marriage of Maria Ann of Austria, *second* daughter of Philip III. of Spain, with the Emperor Ferdinand III.; Maria Ann by this marriage became mother of the Emperor Leopold I.; and, in view of the renunciations before referred to by the two French Queens, the Emperor Leopold I. asserted that he was the lawful heir to the Spanish crown, in virtue of the rights of his mother. By his second marriage with Eleanor of Neubourg, daughter of the Elector Palatine, the Emperor had two sons, Joseph and Charles; the younger of whom he destined for the crown of Spain.

THE CLAIM OF BAVARIA.

Another claimant to the Spanish succession was the House of Bavaria, whose claims were stronger than those of Austria.

This claim arose through the marriage of Margaret—a daughter of Philip IV. of Spain and a *younger sister* of Maria Theresa, the Queen of France. The former had married the Emperor Leopold by his first marriage, and their daughter of that marriage, Mary Antoinette, was married to the Elector Joseph of Bavaria; and their son, the Prince Elector, was, therefore, a presumptive heir to the crown of Spain.

The claim of the infant Electoral Prince of Bavaria,

through his mother, the Electress, although superior to that of Austria, was not favored by his grandfather, the Emperor, who preferred the claims of the House of Austria, so as to be able to control the Spanish dominions for that house.

The claims of the Electress of Bavaria were fortified by the fact that she and her descendants had been designated as heirs to the Spanish crown, by the late King.

Philip IV., by his will, recites that, inasmuch as his daughter, Maria Theresa, the Queen of France, had renounced all right to the crown of Spain, he therefore appointed the Infanta Margaret, his second daughter, and her descendants heirs of his dominions, if his son Charles died without descendants.

The Emperor, as has been stated, was married to Margaret as his first wife, and their daughter married the Elector of Bavaria.

On the marriage of this daughter, however, the Emperor compelled her to renounce the throne of Spain, on condition that the Elector should have the Spanish Netherlands, in case the King of Spain died childless.

The infant Electoral Prince was a candidate whose succession would induce no disturbance, and create no jealousies; and it was the opinion of thoughtful and wise men that the succession, in the interests of all Europe, should pass to him.

INTERESTS OF OTHER NATIONS IN THE SUCCESSION.

The interests of other European States in the Spanish succession, although not apparently immediate, were still neither remote nor unimportant.

The preponderance of power, as has been above remarked, which would result in the unification of the Crown of Spain with that either of France or Austria, would, in itself, not only impair the influence but would threaten the independence of the other States.

Especially obnoxious to the States of England and Holland was the prospect of a French king upon the Spanish

throne. These States had long found an extensive market in Spain, for their manufactured goods, which French interference might disturb. England's existing commercial relations with Spain and its Indian Colonies would be probably materially changed to the disadvantage of the former nation, if a Bourbon prince were selected, and her position as the first naval power of the world would be lost, if opposed by a united Spanish and French marine, which might close the Mediterranean to England, and restrict her commerce everywhere.

Holland, also, was interested against the Franco-Spanish scheme, for the Spanish Netherlands were now a barrier to her against French aggression, although many strong fortified towns were, under the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (in 1668), and of Nymeguen (in 1678), still in the hands of France; the present barrier, however, it was of vital interest for Holland to have maintained.

National feeling was also strong against France, for her wars waged ruthlessly with Holland, which had, at times, humiliated and impoverished her; and the efforts of France to make encroachment in the Low countries had been continuous, and always menacing to Dutch independence.

CLAIMS OF THE HOUSE OF SAVOY AND OF ORLEANS.

A more remote claimant to the Spanish succession was the House of Savoy.

This claim or pretension arose through the marriage of Carl Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, with Catherine, a sister of Philip III. of Spain and daughter of Philip II. Another pretender to the succession was Philip the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV., and *younger* son of Anne of Austria, who was the oldest daughter of Philip III.: his claim, however, was subject to so numerous contingencies as not to be seriously considered.

To illustrate the serious aspect in which was viewed the possible succession of a French Prince to the Spanish throne, the words of Fenelon, abstracted from his essay "On the Balance of Power," may be aptly quoted. He

speaks of the supposed case of Charles' decease, and instances it as such a case of disturbance of the balance of power as to warrant European interference. "We in France have now in view a possible event, when the truth of what we have advanced will be apparent. It is, if the King of Spain should happen to die, without issue: I suppose the renunciation of the Queens to have been void, and that, consequently, we have a certain *right* to the succession to Spain. When once we shall have become masters of Spain, we shall, by consequence, have Portugal in our power: all Italy will become a Province of our Kingdom, through Naples and Milan; we shall be absolutely masters of the Mediterranean, by Cadiz and the other ports of Spain; by Fayal, Gayetta, etc. We shall have the key of Holland and ruin their Commerce, by Antwerp. Holland being subdued, without resistance, we shall become masters of the Channel, and all the Commerce of Germany and the northern ports. Nothing would hinder us, during some Turkish war, from subduing Germany itself. England would be exposed, with vastly inferior force, to our descents, and durst not withstand us. We should be the tyrants of all Europe. All Europe has, therefore, *a right* to concur in excluding us from this succession; at the same time, that we are entitled to it, by written laws."

CHAPTER VII.

Treaties for the Dismemberment of Spain, on the anticipated Decease of Charles I. of Spain.—Secret Treaty of 1668; between the Emperor and France.—Prior Intrigues of Louis in Spain.—First Treaty of Partition between France, England and Holland, 1698.—Second Treaty of Partition, between the same Powers, 1700.—Policy of the above Treaties.—Feeling in England as to these Treaties.—Protests of Spain.—Action of the Emperor.—Intrigues of the Emperor to negotiate with France for the Dismemberment of the Spanish Dominions.—Doubts as to the Sincerity of Louis in making the Treaties of Partition.

THE TREATIES FOR THE DISMEMBERMENT OF SPAIN.

LOUIS XIV.'s attempts at the aggrandizement of France, to the detriment of neighboring States, had heretofore met with determined opposition.

Various leagues and combinations to oppose him have been in former pages adverted to, in all which the Emperor was the most prominent actor.

As early as the year 1667, while Charles was almost an infant, Louis began to entertain ideas for the aggrandizement of France, by the dismemberment of the Spanish dominions; and, singularly enough, his sole coadjutor, at this time, was the Emperor. Subsequent war quite abrogated this compact.

This extraordinary treaty of division of the estates of Spain, made between Louis XIV. and the Emperor, was set afoot in January, 1667, and signed in January, 1668, and was, by its terms, to be kept in great secrecy and concealment.

The main features of the Treaty provided for the division of the Spanish Dominions, on the decease of Charles II. without heirs; so that Spain and its possessions in Italy and the Mediterranean should be the portion of the Empire, also the Indies, Milan and other designated places: and the Spanish Netherlands, Navarre, Naples, Sicily and

certain other ports and places should belong to France. The execution of this treaty was a matter of great exultation to Louis and his ministers.

Even prior to this compact, as early as June, 1661, Louis had sent to his Ambassador in Spain instructions to use all efforts to procure the annulment of the renunciation of Maria Theresa and her descendants before referred to, and to have a declaration made by the then King of Spain, Philip IV., that the Queen of France and her children were qualified to have succession to the throne of Spain.

These efforts were to be made, in spite of the fact, that, on the Isle of Faisans near the Spanish frontier, where Louis received the Infanta as his bride, on the 6th of June, 1660, he had taken the solemn oath before referred to, to keep his treaty with Spain, and to observe the act of renunciation made by his wife, Maria Theresa.

These efforts of Louis, which lasted a year and a half, were ineffectual to move the Spanish court. They indicate, however, that the Spanish succession for a Bourbon, was long a subject of the thoughts and ambition of the French king; and that the Policy subsequently adopted in this regard, was not one suddenly conceived, nor one which was the mere result of new conditions.

The Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, terminated the war of nine years, but did not put a stop to the views of the French King, as to Spain. He retained his army and navy on a war footing; and, while still preparing for the emergency of war, and still concealing his views as to the succession, entered into a treaty for the dismemberment of Spain, which was made on the 11th October, 1698, after prolonged and complicated negotiations; the Earl of Portland representing William III. at the French Court, and the Count De Tallard conducting the negotiations at London, in behalf of Louis. The parties to this extraordinary Treaty of Partition were France, Great Britain and Holland.

THE FIRST TREATY OF PARTITION.

By its terms, on the decease of Charles, without issue, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was to succeed to the Spanish Peninsula, the Low Countries, and the Spanish Indian possessions: the Dauphin was to have the Kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, part of Tuscany, and certain territories near the Pyrenees; and the Archduke Charles was to be content with the Duchy of Milan.

The theory of the treaty was, that, as the death of the king of Spain, at any moment, might cause great confusion and a general war, it was desirable that the European Powers should unite to prevent it, by making a satisfactory arrangement for the government of the various countries of the Spanish dominions, and that the Treaty would be a substantial foundation for the public repose.

This treaty was also to be kept secret, but its contents leaked out, and caused great indignation in Spain. The Protest against it issued by the Spanish Ambassador at London directed to the "Lords Justices of England," quite ignoring the Parliament, was considered so insolent and seditious in its character that the Ambassador was ordered, immediately, to leave England.

THE SECOND TREATY OF PARTITION.

The decease of the infant Electoral Prince of Bavaria on February 8, 1699, rendered abortive this compact of 1698; and, in March, negotiations for a new compact were entered into; whereby the Archduke Charles was to succeed to the portion allotted to the late Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and the Dauphin was to have, as an addition, *Lorraine and Bar*; in exchange for which, the House of Lorraine was to have the Duchy of Milan.

The treaty further contained the sweeping proviso that the sovereignty of Spain and its Indian possessions should *never appertain to any prince who should be, at the same time, Emperor or King of the Romans, or either King or Dauphin of France.* This treaty was signed in May, 1700, at London, and at the Hague.

Notwithstanding the above treaties, the disposition of the other European Princes, and their views as to the succession, were continuously and adroitly sounded by French diplomacy.

William III., it was well known, carried to the English throne all his Dutch antipathy to France and its attempts at aggrandizement, by the absorption of other States: and even when busy with the complications of the new English settlement, was active in foreign politics.

EFFECT OF THE TREATIES OF PARTITION.

The above treaties of Partition, were probably entered into by William, because, by them, either a representative of the House of Bavaria or of Austria was to be placed, as ruler, over the Spanish Peninsula and the Netherlands, and act as a barrier for Holland; and the policy of preventing a unification of the Spanish and French crowns was, to him, a policy paramount to all other considerations.

The making of the Treaty, however, by him, without a full communication to Parliament on the subject, caused great excitement in that body; it was denounced, there, as a piece of highway robbery and a felony, and the impeachment of ministers was threatened. The Commons, in fact, impeached the Earls of Portland and Orford, and Lords Somers and Halifax, for their part in the Treaty, but the proceedings were not continued to any definite conclusion in the Commons; and the Lords, thereupon, took advantage of the delay, and pronounced the acquittal of the Peers.

The general public feeling, as regards this Treaty, in England, was, that William had been outwitted by Louis, who never had intended to carry it out; and, even if he had, its terms, it was considered, would have operated much to the aggrandizement of France.

The House of Lords, some time after, declared in an address to the king, "That having read the Treaty of Partition of the 21st February and 3d March, 1700, they to their great sorrow, feared it would be of ill consequence, and

might have been greater, if it had taken effect ; therefore they humbly beseeched his Majesty, that, for the future, he would rely on the counsels of his natural born subjects ; and not trust to foreigners, who could not be so well qualified to advise him ; and, as to the King of France, they advised his Majesty to be more cautious of him for the future, since he had so manifestly violated his engagements."

The fact of the making of the second Treaty of division was openly and formally communicated by Holland, England and France to the kings, princes and States of Europe, asking them to take part in it.

The French Ambassador at Madrid, also (on 9th Sept., 1700), communicated the fact to the Court of Spain : at the same time, warning that Court, that France would oppose the receiving of any of the troops of the Emperor, in any part of the Spanish dominions, where, it was alleged, they were gathering ; and that orders had been given to remove them.

The King of Spain, through his Ambassador at London, made strong protest against this Treaty "as a thing unexampled among nations ;" and alleged that it was "subversive of all National right and independence, and tended to make discord and disorder in the Kingdom," and testified "to the resentment and grief of a sovereign King at such a course against him, by friendly powers."

A similar protest was made by the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague.

The Emperor was given three months by the parties to the treaty to signify his adhesion or assent to it.

He postponed his answer until the 18th August, when he made a verbal statement, through his ambassadors, to the effect, "that the Emperor considered it improper, at that time, while the King of Spain was living, to enter into any such arrangements, and that, in case the King of Spain died childless, the Emperor believed *he had, alone*, the right of succession to all the Spanish dominions ; and that, in default of the Austrian line, the Duke of Savoy would succeed to that right, agreeably to the will of Philip IV."

Before the Emperor gave his final answer, the Austrian ministry had vainly endeavored by negotiations with Villars, the French Ambassador at Vienna, to induce Louis to abandon the Treaty of Partition, to utterly ignore Holland and England, and to divide the Spanish dominions between the houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon.

"Do you not see," said the two Austrian ministers of State to Villars, "that the interest both of God and of our masters requires that the King and the Emperor should be united? And what a power France would control over the two other powers (England and Holland): which, after having been allied with the Emperor, now so directly and openly are acting in opposition to him? You must expect them to act in the same way towards France on the first opportunity they have. However feeble is the health of the King of Spain that of William is worse, and the former will outlive him. In that case your King will have the glory of re-establishing the old religion and the true King of England in his dominions. We can make a secret treaty about all this and appear to enter into the Partition Treaty with you; and so soon as the King of Spain is dead we can each take the part that is most suitable for the King and the Emperor respectively. You must agree, at any rate, that our two countries are the masters of the situation."

It was fortunate for England that this wholesale proposition for the dismemberment of Spain was not carried out. It might have changed the succession in the former country as well as in the latter.

The King of France gave a deaf ear to all these proposals, however, suspecting in them a trick of the Emperor to disunite him from England and Holland and to break up the Partition Treaty.

The Emperor's negotiations to break up the Treaty of Partition having failed, he put in the verbal protest against it, as above stated.

Few of the other powers of Europe gave assent to the Treaty, and none of the great powers of the North. They preferred to wait the course of events, at this critical period of European politics.

This second Treaty of division caused equal irritation in the Courts of Madrid and Vienna. The Emperor, although he was to have the lion's share, complained particularly that Italy was to be taken from the House of Austria, and protested, in form, to all the Powers. It is probable, in view of subsequent events, that Louis entered into these treaties with no fixed idea of keeping them.

Pending the negotiations for them, and subsequent to their execution, his intrigues in Spain to have the succession to all the dominions of the Spanish Crown secured to the House of Bourbon, were incessant and active. The favor with which French interests were regarded in Spain and the intrigues of the French Ambassador there, narrated in succeeding chapters, caused apprehension in the minds of William and his ministers, that the King of France, should a will be made by the King of Spain designating a Bourbon as his successor, would not adhere to the Treaty of Partition, but would seize the entire Spanish dominions for his own House. These apprehensions continued, in spite of a diplomatic denial, on the part of the French ministers, that any such course would be adopted.

The intrigues of the French minister at Madrid will now be adverted to, as well as the efforts of the Emperor to counteract them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Beginning of Intrigues at the Spanish Court.—Condition of Charles.—Policy of the Queen Mother.—The two Wives of Charles II.—Suspicion of Poison.—The Policy of the Queen Consort.—Sides taken by the Spanish Court Officials.—Cardinal Portocarrero.—The Grand Inquisitor and the Confessors.—The King's Physicians.—Incertitude of Charles.—Death of the Queen Mother.—French Diplomacy.—The Marquis d'Harcourt.—His Instructions from the French Court.—His Intrigues and Munificence.—Gradual Change of feeling towards France.—The Count Harrach, the Emperor's Ambassador.—The Countess Berlips.—Harrach's Instructions.—Feeling in Spain.—Harrach's Efforts.—D'Harcourt's State Entry into Madrid.

BEGINNING OF INTRIGUES.

FOR a period of twelve years before the decease of Charles II., of Spain, his court was a busy scene of quarrel and intrigue—and even of crime. The Spanish King, whose decease was looked forward to with such interest, was a man of retiring habits, with no kingly qualities. His head was bent forward—his expression downcast—his body feeble and thin—his legs rickety, and his mind sluggish—all indicated degeneracy of race.* His natural disposition, melancholy and timid, was aggravated by continuous and dangerous maladies, which sometimes made him choleric and rash in action. He had passed most of his life in a state of ignorance and apathy, and was indisposed to all exertion. He hated his surroundings of royal state; and, in fact, he

* It is related of Charles II., that, at his birth, he was placed in a box of cotton, being so little and so delicate that the nurses could not venture to swaddle him. A contemporaneous diplomatist also thus informs us in a letter to Hon. Alex. Stanhope: "Charles has a ravenous stomach and swallows all he eats, whole; for his nether jaw stands so much out that his two rows of teeth cannot meet; to compensate which, he has a prodigious wide throat, so that a gizzard or liver of a hen passes down whole; which his weak stomach is not able to digest."

hated the world—especially as seen in courts. His knowledge of State affairs was slight, and his aversion to all public duties was extreme, and caused him to be governed and influenced by those by whom he was surrounded and who would take from him the cares of State. In the earlier part of his reign, his mother, a sister of the Emperor Leopold, and Regent of the Kingdom, had exercised a supreme influence over him. After the decease of the Queen mother, his ministers took control of affairs, and subsequently his second wife, a sister of the Empress, had entire influence over him, and indirectly governed the Nation. She removed from the court those she could not control; her favorites and confederates filled all places of dignity and power; and all her and their influence was, at first, directed in support of the interests of the House of Austria.

The first wife of Charles II. was a niece of Louis XIV., and consequently inclined toward France.

Such was the acerbity, in those days, of political opposition, such, perhaps, the length to which ambition, in high places, could go, that it was charged, that the young French consort of the king had been poisoned, either through the sufferance, or by the instrumentality of the Ambassador of the Emperor. The party directly engaged in this was alleged to be the Countess of Soissons, then dwelling at the Spanish Court—a niece of Mazarin, one of the Mancinis, and the mother of the thereafter celebrated Prince Eugene. She had been banished from the French Court; and the action above alluded to was supposed to be in the interest of Austria. It has been observed, however, that, in those days, whenever a Royal personage died suddenly, poison was always suspected.

The Queen mother, the Count of Oropesa, formerly Prime Minister, and many prominent members of the cabinet supported the claims of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

With the Queen consort, supporting the claims of Austria, were Melgar, the Admiral of Castile, virtually Prime Minister, and also, at first, Cardinal Portocarrero, Archbishop of Toledo, a master of political priestcraft, and the intriguing *Camarera mayor*, the Countess Berlips, and also,

subsequently, the Count Oropesa, and many of the grantees and office-holders.

For the French side few of the nobles and ministers manifested themselves; but a change was, in a short time, perceptible.

There also figured on the scene of these famous intrigues, the Secretary of the Cardinal, all the nobility and their wives, the Pope's Nuncio, the Grand Inquisitor, the Queen's confessor, Father Gabriel Chiusa, a German Capuchin, the king's former and his subsequent confessor, and even the king's two physicians, who often gave advice, ostensibly for the king's health, but really, from the political reasons that the Queen should not be with him during his occasional journeys, for relief and repose, to Toledo. The king, easy to persuade, was alternately influenced by his wife and his mother, which latter, until her decease, continued to favor the interests of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

In 1696, the intrigues of the Queen mother in support of the young Prince of Bavaria, had caused Charles to make a will, in secret, in favor of that Prince. The Queen mother having died in May, 1696, the Queen consort, favoring the side of the Emperor, and assisted by the Austrian Ambassador, prevailed upon the king to destroy the will, and to promise to select one of the sons of the Emperor. The Austrian party seemed now to have the ascendancy, and those who formerly advocated the claims of the Electoral Prince, to a great extent, joined the party of the Emperor.

The various intrigues ensuing at the Spanish court, by the representatives of the Court of France and the Empire, with the intention to secure the succession in favor of their respective sovereigns, form a remarkable and interesting chapter in diplomatic history.

To represent the French king, amid the difficulties surrounding the question of the "Succession," the Marquis, subsequently the Duke d'Harcourt, was selected, as peculiarly fitted for the delicate mission. He was a man of ancient lineage, he had served, with great distinction, in Flanders under Turenne, and had a positive genius for diplomacy: courteous in manners, keen of perception,

fertile in resources, and rapid in judgment, he had also a great experience of mankind, and above all, a reputation for honor and probity, that placed him high in the esteem of his own court, and gave him the confidence of all.

The Marquis d'Harcourt's instructions were most minute; as regarded, not only the main object of his mission, but as to his modes of action, including his deportment and demeanor—all showing that his mission and its smallest details had been the subject of deep consideration at the French Court. He was told to impress the Spaniards with reliance and trust in his actions and word, so as to gain their respect and confidence, in order that he might more thoroughly sound their sentiments, and ascertain the views, not only of the court, but of the Nation, and penetrate into the thoughts and predilections of the leading men of the kingdom.

He was particularly to watch the minister of the German Empire, and counteract his plans. He was to endeavor to divert the mind of Charles from his prejudices against the French—prejudices which had been particularly instilled into him by the Queen mother and by his own Queen. He was to ascertain if there were a party forming in the interests of France, and, if so, to promote its growth, and take special pains to make the Spaniards understand that misfortunes innumerable to them would result if they came under the rule of the Emperor—while under the reign of a French Prince, they would have repose and prosperity.

He was, further, to conciliate all classes of Spaniards, and ingratiate himself particularly with the grandees, and to be assiduous in his attentions to the Queen, in order to make her moderate her views towards France. His first despatch is dated 23d December, 1697—soon after his arrival. The Marquis, at first, was coldly received. He, first, was only allowed to see the King in a darkened chamber, for fear that the moribund condition of the poor monarch might be too apparent; and he was several months in Madrid before he could obtain his official audience: the Austrian party, also, was so influential that all the Nobility stood aloof from him. D'Harcourt, however, in spite of

his cold reception, immediately set to work to ingratiate himself and promote French interests with the grandees and people of Spain. His munificence and largesses at Madrid were unexampled ; and his subsequent public entry into that capital was one of royal state. He entertained sumptuously, not only the great men, but influential persons of all degrees, and his palace was a place of continual festivity. Banquets were daily spread for persons of consequence, and fountains of wine and chocolate often ran freely for the lower orders, before his palace. The Marquis was also generous in his donations and largesses to needy persons among the ecclesiastics and others, and even paid the judgments of those who were confined in prison for debt. His house and his purse seemed open to all claims ; and he gave with a bounteous hand, in the name of his magnificent master. His officers and servants were also instructed to be conciliating and deferential to all ; in order to draw towards France the good-will of the people, and create a *prestige* in favor of all that was French, and to endeavor to form an agreeable contrast with the somewhat rude and discourteous Germans.

The liberality, courtesy and magnificence of the French ambassador were, as was shrewdly intended, not without their effect ; and proved valuable diplomatic auxiliaries. They not only flattered the Spanish mind but gratified and relieved its tastes, forming as they did, a strong and gay contrast with the grim forms, dull routine and parsimony that characterized the Austro-Spanish state.

In a very short time, a feeling in favor of France became manifest ; and cheers for France, the King of France, and for the Ambassador greeted D'Harcourt on his drives. Many of the high nobility, seeing which way the wind was blowing, began to curry favor with the French diplomatic Court, and plainly indicated their views as to the probability of a succession in favor of a Bourbon.

The Emperor had sent, even before the Peace of Ryswick, as his representative and chief agent in this important affair, an old-fashioned formalized diplomatist, the Count Von Harrach. The Count was well advanced in years, and seems

to have been too ingenuous and too dull for a mission that required an unusual amount of penetration, activity and sagacity to deal successfully with the mysteries and intrigues of combined French and Spanish diplomacy. The Count's instructions were, to ascertain the feeling of the Spanish court and people, to watch the French agents, and to do everything that was to be done in aid of the Austrian interests.

The Count, although he had been twice before Ambassador to Spain, had not been able to gather instruction for his present mission, where conciliation and wily intrigue were more potential than the stately intercourse and dignified rules of strict diplomacy. The veteran diplomatist was slow and ceremonious, pompous and ungracious in manner, and not at all the kind of man to find out what was going on. So troubled did he become, amid the meshes spread for him by the Marquis and those acting with him, that he sent for his son, also a Count Harrach, to come to his assistance; and also, the wife of the latter—a person of attractive manners and agreeable social qualities, who was specially deputed to counteract the influence of the brilliant French Ambassadors, the Marchioness d'Harcourt. It was a long time after his arrival, before Count Harrach, although eager to begin his work, could obtain a public audience; the reason alleged by the Spanish Court being, that, in a letter brought by the Count from the Emperor, addressed to their Spanish Majesties, the Queen had been styled "most beloved" instead of "most serene." A courier had to be sent to Vienna to rectify this difficulty. The anecdote illustrates the extraordinary punctilio of the Spanish Court, which must have much embarrassed diplomatic efforts. In league, at first, with the Imperial embassy, was a person of great influence with the Queen, Countess Berlips, a German woman of common origin, who had accompanied the Queen to Madrid and remained with her as prime favorite, exercising the functions of *Camarera Mayor*. With agreeable person and manner, but of haughty temper and extreme ambition, she became of sufficient consequence to figure in all the plots and counterplots of the

court ; and to be an object of interest and research for both the great Ambassadors.

The Count Harrach was specially instructed to win over the Cardinal Portocarrero, whose influence at Court was all powerful, to the Austrian interests ; also the Count of Monterey, who was supposed to be inclined to favor the French ; he was also instructed, with a view to conciliate the king, to offer the services of 10,000 German troops, if needed, either against France or to quell revolts in the Spanish territories : to the Queen, to Madame Berlips and to the Admiral of Castile he was to be especially gracious and conciliatory.

The general feeling in Spain, however, became, in no long time, quite decided on the French side of the question. In spite of the many wars theretofore waged with France and the misery they had occasioned, there was no little feeling drawing Spaniards toward France, arising perhaps from similarity of race and propinquity of territory—the French marriages made also a bond of union. Some gratitude to Louis also was felt for his apparent generosity in the terms of the Treaty at Ryswick. There was a fear, too, that the balance of power and the independence of States, and, consequently, the tranquillity of Europe would be more imperilled if a Hapsburg rather than a Bourbon rule controlled the action of a double crown. In opposition to these feelings the Count Harrach sought to revive, in the breasts of the Spaniards, their ancient friendship for Germany, which had almost become extinguished by the action of the needy and ambitious Germans at the Spanish Court, who, abusing the good-will of the Queen, and taking advantage of the weakness of the king, had appropriated to themselves almost absolute power in the dispensation of the dignities and offices of the crown. This feeling against the Germans Harrach grievously complains of, in his despatches to the Emperor.

D'Harcourt, the French Ambassador, made his grand public entry into Madrid, in September, 1698 ; and was received by the King, on his first public audience, as Ambassador.

From an account of the entry of the Ambassador, published at Madrid, in 1698, it must have been one of unusual magnificence. Banquets were given to the gentlemen who were to form the *cortège*, in the Ambassador's palace ; while, before it, outside, the people were, as usual, regaled from fountains. A number of mounted gentlemen belonging to the embassy, clothed in velvet and brocades heavily decorated in gold, opened the procession, followed by twenty-four other gentlemen of the embassy, their garments glistening in silver and gold lace. Then followed thirty servants or pages in livery, and after them the French Ambassador on horseback, having on either side of him the Major Domo of the king and the conductor of the Ambassadors. The king's gilded carriage then followed, and, after it, five elaborately carved carriages of the Embassy—heavily draped in cloth of gold, and drawn by horses and mules in rich trappings. The streets and windows of the houses were crowded with people whose vehement and continuous *vivas* for France, and special shouts for her Ambassador, showed the popularity of the French with the multitude ; while ladies of high degree, from balcony and window, waved enthusiastic welcome and threw perfumes and flowers to the well gratified and triumphant Frenchman.

CHAPTER IX.

Intrigues at the Spanish Court continued.—D'Harcourt's efforts to conciliate the Spaniards.—He gains the Countess Berlips.—Brilliant offers to the Queen.—Her changing Views.—Change of the King's Confessor.—Charles visits the Tombs of his Ancestors for Relief and Meditation.—France preparing for War.—She assumes a threatening Attitude.—Feeble condition of Spain.—Despatch of Louis as to his Policy.—Extracts from the Despatches of the Emperor's Ambassador.—He is continually foiled by French Intrigues.—Suspicious Demeanor, towards him, of the Countess Berlips and the Queen.—Complaints of the Count Harrach.—Increasing Decrepitude of Charles.—Departure of the Count Harrach.—Will made by Charles, in favor of the Electoral Prince.—Death of the Electoral Prince.—Suspicion of Poison.—Action of the Elector.

FROM the time of his arrival, the Marquis d'Harcourt was informed of everything that was said or done about the court. He had his paid agents everywhere, and of every degree; and what was most secretly done or said, even in the rooms of the King or Queen, was revealed to him. The meetings of the Cabal in favor of France, were secretly held at the house of an old French intrigante, styled the Marquise de Gardagne, who had had diplomatic experience in Italy, in securing letters and papers; and who subsequently was ordered to leave Madrid, on twenty-four hours' notice. The profusion of D'Harcourt's bribes and the extent of his promises for place, under the possible French succession, opened every door to him, and gained for him much influential support: Harrach was unable to stem the popular tide in favor of France, and the interests of the Bavarian party, also, seemed quite disregarded. As, after the Peace of Ryswick, Louis not only did not disband his army, but kept his fleets afloat, under various pretences, and supplied his naval magazines, apprehension was felt at the Spanish Court that some hostile procedure was impending. D'Harcourt, however, subdued the apprehensions of

the Spaniards as to these armaments, by asserting that the preparations of a fleet were for the attack of pirates, in the Barbary States; and offered the ships to Spain for the relief of her garrison at Ceuta, then besieged by the Moors. This offer of the fleet gave great assistance to the French cause in Spanish circles: the French became more popular daily, and shouts became more frequent among the populace in favor of France, its king, and its popular minister.

In due time, the Marquis gained over that important personage, the Countess Berlips, by taking her side in a quarrel with the Austrian Ambassador, and promising her, even, a petty sovereignty. He also gained the Queen's confessor by the promise of a Cardinal's hat; and, above all, influenced to his side Cardinal Portocarrero, Archbishop of Toledo, by gold, by promises of aggrandizement under a Bourbon rule, and by dexterously catering to the cardinal's pronounced taste for luxury and sensual living. The acquisition of the Cardinal was an important one, as his influence was great, and his talent for intrigue invaluable. The Marquis de Mancera was also gained over, by special instructions from France. The fascinating manners and adroit flattery of the Marquise d'Harcourt, the engaging French Ambassadors, began also to have their effect even on the Queen, and shook her fidelity to the cause of her own family. Strange inducements were held out to her: it was adroitly suggested that on her husband's decease she would be a fit bride for the Dauphin; and the magical words "Queen of France" were whispered in her ear. The suggestion of the Regency of Spain, until the Duke of Anjou, the Bourbon aspirant, should be of age, was also advanced.

Her zeal and alacrity for the House of Austria was evidently dissolving, under these beguiling ideas, and the Count Harrach was treated with increasing coldness.

D'Harcourt also intimated, that the Queen should not only have the absolute Regency of the Kingdom, during the minority of the Duke of Anjou, but that Roussillon should be restored to the Spanish Crown; and that the French arms should be united with those of Spain for the

reconquest of the kingdom of Portugal, and other Provinces, that Spain had lost, since the glorious days of Charles V.

What visions of grandeur and greatness with which to tempt the Queen to desert her kin and Royal house! Regent of Spain—Queen of France—and she to be the means to restore the grandeur of Spain as of yore, and to rehabilitate it in its ancient possessions and glory!

An important functionary, the king's confessor, in the interest of Austria, who had been given to the King by the Queen, was also removed by the operations of the Cardinal, and a new one, in the interest of France, appointed. The Cardinal and the new Confessor, thereupon, brought the power of religion and superstition to bear upon the poor king, who, now, that he was growing daily weaker, was the more easily moved by influences of that character.

The beleaguered monarch then sought, by communion with the shades of the past, some release from the persecutions and intrigues to which he was subjected. Some rest and strength, perhaps some light, might come to him, he thought, by communion in spirit, with those he had loved—now silent in their last repose.

Deep beneath the earth, in the jewelled mausoleum of the church of the Escorial, where had long slumbered the bodies of his ancestors, Charles passed hours, in gloomy meditation on his sad life and the prognostics of his immediate end. By the wild glare of torches that flickered through the dark recesses of the crypt, and shone upon the huge black crucifix that stood sentinel over the bronze sarcophagi of the dead—the grim remains of Spain's departed majesty were exposed to view—monarchs that had wielded empire and shaped the fortunes of Europe, and Queens before whose grace and beauty all knees had bowed. But the sad sight gave no balm or consolation to the spirit of the desolate king—and when the visage of his first deeply beloved wife, still clear and preserved, almost in its pristine beauty—she who had respected and cherished him, in spite of all his defects—was exposed to his tremulous vision, he apostrophized, in a frenzied rhapsody of grief and hope, this

dumb object of his past love. "She is in heaven," he exclaimed, "and soon I shall be there with her." A deeper gloom and depression took possession of him after this sad visit to the portals of Death.*

The King, at this time, became so weak and despondent that even his customary sources of relaxation—dwarfs, buffoons and puppet-shows—had ceased to give him pleasure; and he so feared death that he never thought himself safe but with his confessor and two friars by his side—who also were compelled to lie in his chamber every night. He had several fits of an epileptic character—but, on his partial recovery, he was compelled to go abroad, to keep up appearances and to show that he was still alive. Occasionally, he figured in a religious procession; but he looked like a ghost and moved like a piece of clock-work. At this time, we are told, a somewhat more nourishing diet was allowed, composed of meat of capons that had been fed on vipers, and a little wine daily, he having never drunk anything before but water boiled with cinnamon.

In the mean time, while these intrigues were going on, and although peace had been but recently made, France was continually arming herself. Sailors were being collected in all the ports—vessels of war and transports were being equipped and stationed in the harbors of Spain and of Naples—there were 30 French men-of-war in Cadiz, and the Duke de Noailles was at the head of an army of 45,000 men, who were exercising, as stated, for military instruction, but who evidently formed a camp of observation, ready for prompt action.

No wonder that under this threatening attitude, and in view of the exhausted condition of Spain, Charles came to no open conclusion as to the disposition of his Crown.

All this armament was part of the French diplomacy, and stronger than any arguments the Count Harrach could bring—the Spaniards were helpless to contend with France—this, at least, the poor king knew.

*The Hon. Alex. Stanhope, the British minister at Madrid, gives in his letters a somewhat different version of this visit; but Spanish writers give it as above.

Spain had indeed been impoverished and weakened in her recent wars with her great neighbor. There were only 20,000 armed men in the Spanish dominions—numbers of whom deserted the flag daily, in a half-starved condition. There was no national militia, no military spirit, such as in the Netherlands had once placed the courage and fighting qualities of the Spanish soldier in the foremost rank—no navy, except three or four old galleys to protect trade with the Indies—and any efficient vessels that were required, were hired from the Genoese. The State revenues depended mostly on the arrival of an occasional galleon from the Indies—often intercepted—and the finances were, at times, so low, that the lofty dignity of “grandee” was sold to Italian bankers. Riots from scarcity of food were of frequent occurrence—the palace of Count Oropesa, the late Prime Minister, was attacked and plundered—and crowds of infuriated people gathered before the royal palace, and compelled the King to show himself and promise them pardon for various outrages. The entering, by France, into the first Treaty, for the dismemberment of Spain (October, 1698); above referred to, might, in view of the various intrigues and efforts at Madrid, by Louis, be considered as singular: but, it was supposed, in diplomatic circles, that the making of this Treaty by France, was with the policy of giving at least a temporary check to the House of Austria, in its urgent claims for the entire throne of Spain, and, at the same time, with a view to disarm suspicion as to the views of France. Accordingly, the French Ambassador received orders to act as if no such treaty were in progress; and he still continued to employ all his diplomatic efforts in favor of the French succession to the entire Spanish dominions. About this time, Mr. Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, wrote home that the French Ambassador was gaining daily; that the antipathy of the Spaniards was daily increasing towards the Germans; and, that the Spaniards would have no objection to receive a grandson of Louis for their King. “So far as I can discover the inclination of the people,” he writes, “it is, that they are in favor of a French prince, on condition of being assured that

this prince will be never King of France : by such a choice they believe they will secure repose within, but they would prefer to have the Devil rather than to have Spain united to France ! ”

In a despatch of Aug. 5, 1698, by Louis to Count Tallard, who was in London endeavoring to conclude the first Treaty of Partition with William, the King thus expresses himself as to the succession, and as to his desire that the Treaty of Partition should be concluded.

“ The Marquis d’Harcourt informs me of the inclinations he finds in Spain in favor of one of my grandsons. It is not only the greater part of the population that does justice to the right of the legitimate heir, but the principal men in the Kingdom. They foresee the misfortunes which that Monarchy has to fear if it falls into other hands than those of my grandson ; and they do not hesitate to say that the King of Spain, being the master, during his life, cannot choose a successor to the prejudice of the laws and constitution of the Kingdom. Many promise to declare themselves, on the demise of their King, and affirm that the partisans of the Emperor, hated by the whole nation, would soon be forsaken ; and I do not see that any one has hitherto declared for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria : thus, everything favors the just rights of my son. I am in a condition to maintain them, by causing the troops which I have on the frontiers of Spain to enter that Kingdom, if the Catholic King should die. I am able to prevent all the enterprises of the Emperor, and those who would give him assistance : but, in truth, I cannot do so without renewing a war as bloody as that from which Europe has just been delivered. The desire of preserving the public tranquillity is the chief motive which has actuated me, in taking measures with the King of England, to hinder peace from being disturbed, on the death of the King of Spain. It is certain that when the first proposals on the subject were made I did not see so much facility as there appears to be at present to have one of my grandsons recognized as successor to that Crown. But, as the repose of Christendom is still the principal object which I have in view, the more appearance

there is of my being able to secure the Spanish succession to one of my grandsons, the greater are the marks which I give of my moderation and of my desire to preserve peace : by contenting myself with a portion of the succession, and by sacrificing such great interests to the repose of my subjects and the tranquillity of all Europe."

The above despatch, which, being of a private character was possibly sincere in its assertions, (although monarchs often purposely mislead their own Ambassadors), seems to indicate, that it was the serious intention of the French King, in case the Treaty of Partition was made, to adhere to it. As it was uncertain, however, whether the Emperor would give it his assent, it was doubtless deemed judicious to pursue diplomatic efforts in Spain, in furtherance of the Bourbon interests, so that if the Emperor should endeavor to secure to himself the entire Spanish dominions, the French ascendancy in the Spanish Court and among the people would be so great that the House of Austria would be eventually defeated.

With curious interest, as throwing a dramatic and picturesque light upon these scenes of political intrigue, one may at this day take a look at some of the despatches of the Count d'Harrach to the Emperor, at about the time that the former was much disturbed by the intrigues of the French Ambassador, and suspected that the Queen was being led to give her support to the court of France. These despatches let us behind the veritable scenes of the intricate diplomacy involved in the settlement of the great question of the Succession.

The disturbed condition of the Count's mind, amid the complications of Spanish court intrigue, are thoroughly manifested in these despatches, as well as the skilful manner in which he was outwitted. One despatch is as follows, bearing date from Madrid, 8th July, 1698: "Sire, at last, the Queen, who has continued in the opinion she had conceived, with respect to my deportment towards her, has deigned to give me the private audience which I asked of her, through her confessor. The audience lasted a long time, and she talked frankly with me, as I believe, in tell-

ing me all that the Countess Berlips had said to my son, and of which I informed your Majesty in my last. I tried to give her entire satisfaction, in speaking to her, in full sincerity ; and her Majesty, as it appears to me, was so much pleased that she expressed herself to the effect, that, if she had shown me any indifference or coldness, it had no personal reference, but resulted from the continual trouble that she was burthened with daily, and which rendered her almost unrecognizable by her own domestics. I, then, spoke to her of the Succession, and of the divisions of the troops for Spain ; and, thanking her for the care she had taken, in order to succeed in those two matters, I thanked her, also, for the hope she had given me, through the Countess Berlips, that the King had been willing to name the Count of Oropesa, as a commissioner to treat with me.” “I enlarged much upon the justice of your Imperial Majesty, and of his august House, on the great confidence that your Imperial Majesty had in her affection, and in her inclination to make it serviceable, and for the part she had taken in securing the Succession for him. This speech of mine, that, at another time, might have been out of place, was quite *à propos* in the conjunction in which this court is now involved by the intrigues of the Ambassador of France and his wife. The statement of the Count Oxenstiern, who professes great zeal for the service of your Imperial Highness, was the principal reason why I made the above discourse to the Queen. That nobleman, who has managed to get in with the greater part of the ministers, and even with the Court, said, in secret, to my son, that he had found out through a person in confidential relations with the French Ambassador, that they were negotiating with the Queen, through the medium of a Spanish lady of the highest rank, whose name he could not ascertain, in order to secure the succession of the Spanish Monarchy in favor of a grandson of the King of France. This was to be done by force of the promises that the King of France and the Dauphin, his son, had given her to marry her with the Dauphin as soon as the Catholic King died ; to accord to her the government and the Regency of these

kingdoms, during the absence of the prince who might be named for the succession, and, during his minority, to restore Roussillon to the Crown of Spain; to conquer the kingdom of Portugal, to unite it to that of Castile, and to reward worthily and magnificently Father Gabriel, the Countess Berlips, and all the servitors of her Majesty that she wished to advance." "Although I did not put much faith in all this, I confess to have viewed, with no little suspicion, the conduct that the Queen manifested, for some time, towards my daughter-in-law, and also the Marquise d'Harcourt. It is true, that I attribute the indifference of demeanor of the Queen, towards my daughter-in-law, to the jealousy of the Countess Berlips, because of the great friendship and extraordinary complaisance of the Queen towards my daughter-in-law. As for the Marquise d'Harcourt, she possesses certainly the favor of the Queen; and she keeps up a very intimate friendship with the Countess Berlips. The Queen sent her lately a magnificent present, which was carried to her by eight men, in the Queen's livery. The Queen caused a rumor to be circulated in the Court, that the present consisted of nothing but *fresh butter and fresh milk*, some fans and other female knick-knacks; and that she was obliged to make the Marchioness this present, because the Marchioness had made her, the Queen, the present of a very *handsome wig*, that she had sent for from Paris, to use in hunting. In spite of this explanation, however, all the Court blames such marked public demonstrations and insinuates that some mystery is concealed therewith. Notwithstanding all this, however, the Queen showed to me all the interest she has hitherto manifested for the interests of your Imperial Majesty's House; she assured me that the reason why she dissimulated so strongly with the Count of Oropesa, and that she had began to be gracious to the Count de Monterey, was, in order to interest them in the cause of the most serene Archduke; and that she would press the king, day and night, about it, in order to make him consent to appoint the Count of Oropesa a commissioner, to treat with me, in the hope that my reasonings would be capable of taking

him away from the Bavarian party; that, she the Queen, would always be firm in the resolution she had taken to cause the Archduke to be declared successor of the Monarchy, and that the king desired nothing more earnestly than to find favorable opportunity to make a declaration to that effect. The apparent sincerity of the Queen and the '*naïveté*' of her expressions made me give up the suspicions I had conceived as regards her conduct, in the matter of the Succession; and I quitted, with the conviction that the statement to me by the Count Oxenstiern had not been characterized by sincerity, and that my suspicions had been groundless. This feeling of satisfaction that I experienced, however, did not last long; for, having entered into the apartment of the Countess, I found her deportment towards me quite different from what it had been, three months ago. She said to me, in the most obliging terms possible, that she was delighted to have heard from my son my innocence (of a plot to shut up the king in a convent); that she had spoken of it to the Queen; that her Majesty had shown a great desire to listen to my justification, and that it was for that purpose that she had so readily consented to my audience. I told the Countess all that had passed in that audience; and I afterwards prayed her to keep the Queen in the good intentions she had shown for the most serene Archduke; and to do that as speedily as possible. She answered me thereupon, in such artificial phrases and in such a studied manner, that my suspicions returned, finding neither that sincerity or good faith that I had in the past; and I began to perceive that the statements of the Count Oxenstiern ought to give us abundant reason to mistrust this lady, and consequently, also the Queen. I hope, in a few days, to enlighten myself further in the matter; and I will try and retain the Admiral, the Counts of Oropesa and D'Aguilar, and all the other ministers on our side, firm and constant in their good intentions towards the most August House. Waiting still for the appointment of a commissioner I finish this despatch, etc. (Madrid, 18th July, 1698)."

Finally, wearied by the importunities of the Count Har-

lach, Charles informed him, although he could not in view of the threatening attitude of France make any public declaration of his wishes, that still the Count might inform the Emperor that his inclinations and wishes were for the Imperial House.

In the mean while, however, both the Queen, her confessor and the Countess Berlips gave the bewildered Count the cold shoulder; and, after rehearsing the manner in which they had recently treated him, he winds up a despatch, dated August 14, 1698, in these words: "All these things taken together give me further occasion of mistrust of the sincerity of the Countess Berlips, on whom Father Gabriel is entirely dependent; and that makes me also fear that both of them will oblige the king by their persuasions and by their artifices, to change his sentiments in favor of France."

The Countess Berlips, now, almost threw off the mask, and although she protested, and even swore to the Counts of Harrach that she had nothing to do with the French Ambassador, and hardly knew him, it was ascertained that they had daily conferences, which often lasted from four to five hours.

The Queen, too, gave frequent audiences to the French Ambassador, and received from him magnificent and costly presents. She also testified great friendship for his wife, who was as skilful a diplomatist as her husband; and poor Harrach faithfully wrote to his master of all these things, and confessed to him that, even in the minds of disinterested people, it was evident that the Queen had embraced the party of the House of Bourbon, dazzled by the hopes of becoming some day Queen of France, after having been the Sovereign of Spain.

The Count also wrote, that the Cardinal Portocarrero and the Count of Monterey had gone over to the enemy—the former, under the influence of his confidential secretary and of a certain Spanish lady for whom the Cardinal *had a great respect*. These two new personages were doubtless also tools of the wily French Ambassador.

All these matters gave such trouble to Count Harrach

that on September 4, 1698, he wrote this lamentation to the Emperor—"In one word, Sire, the state of this court and of this ministry promises nothing but the approaching destruction of this Monarchy. God grant that this prediction may be false, and that he will preserve the sacred person of your Imperial Majesty."

However, to appease and satisfy the Count, not only one but two Commissioners were subsequently appointed by the king, to treat with him, on the important subject of his mission: but French intrigue was little disturbed by this formal diplomacy, and pursued its course—seeking to throw obstacles of every kind into the intercourse of the Count with the Commissioners; of all which he made melancholy plaint to his Imperial master, and of the fact that French vessels were so numerous in the Spanish and Italian ports, that they seemed already to have possession of the Spanish dominions!

While these diplomatic struggles were going on, the King was sometimes, apparently, at the point of death, when couriers were despatched in hot haste to France. Sometimes, however, he resumed a condition of such apparent health, that a continuance of his life was thought probable, and the diplomatists became quite puzzled, as to what was to be done next.

Count Harrach was finally so discouraged at the enthusiastic reception that the French Ambassador received, and at the special favors and distinction with which he was complimented, on the part of the King and Queen, that he determined to leave the scene of his unsuccessful efforts and to abandon the field to his French rival. He left Spain for Vienna, in November, 1698, completely defeated in his diplomatic operations. His son, the Count Louis, still remained to represent the Emperor, but neither had he the force, the spirit of intrigue or the conciliatory manners necessary in this field of Spanish diplomacy.

Harassed by all these intrigues and contentions relative to the Succession, and deeming it best, doubtless, for the interests of his Kingdom, the King, disregarding the claims of both France and Austria, determined to make a will in

favor of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria as his successor to the crown; hoping thereby, in a measure, to please all parties, and to preserve his Kingdom in its integrity.

The proposed partition and denationalization of the Spanish dominions by the compact of 1698-9, before recited, and the claims of the House of Austria asserted during his lifetime, particularly excited feelings of irritation in the heart of Charles; and much influenced his decision. He saw his kingdom virtually dismembered before his eyes—himself treated as moribund—and his people, like sheep, to be driven where it might suit their new masters, after his demise had given the signal for the foray. He therefore selected his successor from the House of Bavaria, which had given least trouble in the question of the succession, and whose claims were quite as strong as those of Austria or France.

This will in favor of the Electoral Prince was made towards the end of the year 1698, after consultation by Charles with theologians and jurisconsults, as to his human and divine obligation, in the matter of disposing of the Crown. The choice of the Prince of Bavaria seemed to be not displeasing to either France, England or Holland; and the Elector, for his son, agreed on terms with them, as to the distribution of the Spanish possessions other than Spain and the Indies. The demise of the Prince of Bavaria, however, disturbed this arrangement, and renewed the embarrassments of a new choice for the succession. This young Prince, aged about seven years, died at Brussels, in February, 1699, in a manner that led his father and others to suppose that his dissolution was not entirely due to natural causes.

A rumor was circulated that the House of Austria had some hand in bringing about his decease, although this seems scarcely credible, the then Emperor being the grandfather of the little prince, on whose life then depended the fortunes and destinies of all Western Europe. Crimes of this terrible character, however, seem to have been no infrequent adjuncts to the intricate diplomacy, even of the civilized and Christianized period now being considered.

The loss of his beloved child, on whom so many hopes were hung—the destined head of a great Empire—and the apparent founder of a new dynasty, weighed heavily on the Elector. His suspicion of treachery was so strong, and his opposition to the German Imperial house, in that connection, became so great, that he subsequently suffered the *ban* of the Empire, from acting in opposition to Germany, during the subsequent war of the Succession, and uniting his forces with France, in that great struggle.

The French diplomatists, ready to achieve the first great step in defeating Austria, had apparently favored the action of the King, in making a will in favor of the Electoral Prince; at the same time, putting in a protest, for form's sake, in favor of the Dauphin.

CHAPTER X.

Intrigues Continued.—Machinations of Cardinal Portocarrero.—Incantations and Exorcisms to work upon the King.—Despair of Charles.—His Personal and Political Feelings opposed.—D'Harcourt's departure.—Departure of the Countess Berlips.—The Pope consulted.—Will in favor of the Archduke destroyed.—The new Will made by Charles in favor of the Duke of Anjou.—The grief of Charles.—His desire to change his Will.—Deliberations of the Grandees.—Decease of Charles.—Announcement of the Will at the Spanish Court.—Pleasantry of one of the Grandees.—Mortification of the Ambassador of the Emperor.—A wonder in the Heavens.—Its supposed portent.

AFTER the decease of the Electoral Prince, in February, 1699, although many and powerful influences were directed upon Charles, to cause him to make an expression, by will, in favor of the House of Bourbon, he still hesitated—mainly, at first, through the influence of the Queen, but principally, through a natural attachment to his German family.

The king still hesitating, terrible exhortations or rather denunciations were employed by Portocarrero and his co-adjutors, priests and inquisitors. They presumed to speak in the name of Heaven; claiming that it was a matter that concerned the king's soul to make some provision to prevent the confusion and dismemberment of empire that would follow his decease, unless the matter of the succession were settled.

The king, still vacillating in his views, regarded the subject with horror and aversion. In his desire for relief from importunity and intrigues, he often quitted the court, and went to Toledo for repose.

As the matter still hung in the balance, Portocarrero, the Grand Inquisitor Rocaberti, and their confederates, caused it to be rumored that the King had been bewitched by the Queen and her party, and that the demon should be exorcised. The exorcism was therefore carried out with

frightful incantations, and all the terrible accessories that the Church and Inquisition had at command, mainly with the idea of bringing odium on the Queen and her then counsellors. A Spanish Dominican, one Froylan Diaz, was the chief agent of the Cardinal in carrying on these unseemly operations. He had been placed near the King as Confessor in order to influence the mind and conscience of the poor monarch, who was too weak to make resistance, and allowed the exorcising proceedings to be conducted. The fear he experienced threw him into a fit of profound depression ; and horror-stricken at the terrible incantations of the priests, he considered himself really in the possession of a Devil, and became reduced to a wretched condition of body and mind, still wavering, however, in painful uncertainty and conscientious terror.

He dreaded the power both of France and of Austria, and bemoaned the condition of his unhappy country. He saw that, if he directly declared in favor of either contending Power, the other would not submit to the decision. "What am I to do—if I do not declare positively for the Emperor?" said he, piteously, to his friend and confidant, the Admiral, "my inclination and my conscience will accuse me of insensibility towards my own House, or of cruel wrong to all Christendom ; for I cannot but imagine that the opening of this question of my succession, although it was thoroughly regulated by the law of exclusion, and by the wills of my father and my grandfather, will draw after it terrible misfortunes, and a most horrible effusion of Christian blood."

About this time (May, 1700), the Marquis d'Harcourt took his departure from Spain, having by his exertions kept the Spanish people very favorably disposed to the French interests. Before leaving the country, D'Harcourt, contrary to all diplomatic usage, caused to be printed and circulated among the Spanish people a manifesto, exhibiting the low condition of the Spanish State, and urging upon the people the advantages that would ensue from a Bourbon rule. For his active service in promoting the Bourbon cause in Spain, D'Harcourt was rewarded with the title of "Duke."

The departure of D'Harcourt is supposed by some to have been caused by letters of recall from the French Court, made at the instigation of the Spanish Ministry, and based upon representations made by the Queen, of the Frenchman's efforts to bribe her to desert the Austrian interests. She probably had perceived that she was sought to be made a tool of by the French Minister, and had come to the conclusion that his grand promises were made merely to delude her:—and she seems to have become again active in promoting the cause of the Emperor; although she continued in unpleasant relations with the Austrian Ambassador, who placed no confidence in her supposed devotion to the interests of the Imperial House.

Either the French or Austrian Cabal, at about this time, caused the removal from Spain of the Countess Berlips, who had been active in intriguing at various times, for both the Austrian and French interests, and who was now, with the Queen, supposed to lean towards Austria, but on whom no reliance was placed by Count Harrach. On the return journey of this busy *intrigante* to Germany, it is related, that her retinue was composed, in part, of the following personages: an eunuch, a dwarf, a doctor, a Capuchin and a diplomatic agent. She took, besides, no small amount of treasure accumulated during her reign as Queen's favorite: a large part of which had come from the Elector of Bavaria as a bribe for her influence in favor of the Electoral Prince. Public feeling in Spain was much against this lady, as it was against all the Austrian place-holders; and her departure gave great satisfaction to all classes.

The busy Cardinal now, also, caused the removal, as far as possible, from the presence of the King, of the Prince of Darmstadt, who commanded the troops in and about Madrid, and also the Admiral of Castile, and one or two others who had proclivities for Austria—the King's former confessor having already been removed.

The Austrian party had now become much weakened by these efforts of the Cardinal, who gradually drew closer his meshes around the King, and prevented him from signing

a will that had been prepared by the Austrians, in favor of the Archduke.

His German advisers being all removed or influenced, full of trouble and anxiety, in June, 1700, Charles consulted the Pope and his Cardinals as regards the respective pretensions of the Houses of Bourbon and Austria to the Succession.

The response was, that the renunciations of the mother and wife of Louis to the throne of Spain had only been made to secure the peace of Christendom ; that the Spaniards had a right to determine to set aside their compact ; and that, if a Bourbon were called to the throne of Spain, by resigning his right to the throne of France, every end sought for by the renunciations of the two Queens could be obtained.

The Pope and the Italian ecclesiastics, doubtless, had private as well as public reasons for advocating the selection, by Charles, of a Bourbon Prince to succeed him. They feared a preponderance of Austrian power in Italy ; and perhaps their views had been somewhat influenced by French diplomacy. Be that as it may, the Sovereign Pontiff and the majority of the doctors and jurisconsults pronounced that the renunciation of Maria Theresa was a nullity, so far as her children's rights were concerned ; and, that the King of Spain might lawfully select one of her descendants to succeed to the Spanish Crown.

The Council of State was also unanimous with one exception for the French interests ; and the then French Ambassador, De Blecourt, indefatigable in his efforts to influence the nobility in favor of France, now took the broad ground that either Spain must be dismembered, under the Treaty of Partition, or that a Bourbon must succeed to the throne.

CHARLES' WILL.

Although embittered for many reasons against Louis, the Spanish Monarch, after long deliberation, actuated very much by the counsels of the Papal See, instigated, also, materially, by the wishes of his people, and with a strong

desire for their welfare and for the peace of Europe, allowed to be destroyed in his presence the will theretofore prepared in favor of the Archduke; and executed a new will which had been prepared by the Cardinal and Ubilla, the Secretary of Despatches, in which occurs the following important provision, establishing, so far as he could do it, by such an instrument, the coveted Succession. "Having remarked, agreeably to the result of all the consultations held by our ministers of State and of Justice, that the reasons for which the Infantas Lady Ann and Lady Maria Theresa, Queens of France, my aunt and sister, have renounced the succession of these dominions, were only founded on the danger and the prejudice which this kingdom would experience if it became united with that of France; and having considered that the fundamental reason no longer existed, the right of succession having devolved upon the nearest relative according to the laws of the kingdom, and that this condition is now manifested in the person of the second son of the Dauphin of France—this is the reason, why, acting upon the said laws, *that I declare as my successor, if God remove me without leaving children, the Duke d'Anjou, second son of the Dauphin; and in consequence of this I establish and name him to succeed to my kingdoms and estates, without any exception.*"

Having exhorted his subjects to concur in his selection, Charles further declares it to be his will that, in case, before his decease, the Duke of Anjou should either die or become King of France, the succession should then devolve on the Duke de Berry, the third son of the Dauphin; and in case of his demise or becoming King of France, that the second son of the Emperor should succeed; and, in case of his decease, the Duke of Savoy, as descendant of a daughter of Philip II., and his children.

After the will was signed and sealed, in presence of the Cardinal, the Confessor, and some of the officers of State, who were in the secret, Charles burst into tears at the thought of having disinherited his family and removed from Spain the Hapsburg race that had made it glorious—and passing over to the hereditary enemy of Spain a dominion that had been, at one time, the most powerful in the world.

"God is the disposer of kingdoms," cried he, in his affliction; "they belong only to him." Then, sinking back in silent despair he feebly muttered, "I am already nothing." Two days after, he abandoned the reins of government to Cardinal Portocarrero, and subsequently made a codicil confirming the will.

Although the contents of the will were carefully kept even from the Queen, a courier, on the night that the codicil was signed, was on his way towards France, and the Queen, under various pretexts, was prevented for some days from going near the King.

Portocarrero had caused an assembly to be held of some of the Grandes and most influential men in the State (Aug., 1700) to deliberate on the great question of the succession. The results of their deliberation were to the following effect: "That the Spanish Kingdom was now on the brink of ruin, and that there was great danger in further postponing the nomination of a successor to the Crown—that every European Prince was ready to strike at Spain, and seize a part of its dominions; and that the antagonism of the various Provinces and districts in the kingdom was so great that, on the King's decease, they would be in such a state of hostility that civil war would ensue. That some one must be selected as successor, who would be powerful enough to hold his place, with a hereditary right so to do. That the House of Bourbon was rich, powerful and fortunate; and that the Duke d'Anjou should be selected—he being one who would not succeed to the double crown; and that under such powerful protection the ancient glories of Spain would revive." Even the Admiral of Castile, and others in the Austrian interest, were prevailed upon to make no dissent from these conclusions. They probably were convinced that further opposition was useless.

The deliberations of this council were also kept secret, even from the Queen. It is narrated, that, after the king had confirmed the will in favor of French interests, a temporary restoration to health and the urgent representation of the German party had determined Charles to revoke it,

and make a new disposition in favor of the House of Austria ; but, Death, a new agent in these diplomatic hopes and fears, appeared upon the scene, and, so far as Charles was concerned, closed the great drama of the "Succession."

About a month after the making of his will, in November, 1700, at the age of 42, Charles departed from the turmoil of a royal existence, especially aggravated in his case by his physical ailments and by the dissensions between his royal kinsmen for the possession of his realms.

Their bitter enmity, particularly as it foreshadowed evil for the peace of his country and of Europe, disturbed his last moments, and doubtless accelerated his end. The remains of the poor king received a mean interment—the procession was meagre and the ceremonies were hurried—the finances of the State were low—he had given trouble enough—and it was time for him to go!—On the examination of the body for embalmment the heart, it is recorded, was found no larger than the egg of a pigeon!—And so passed from history this doleful specimen of Spanish majesty.

It is related that the will of Charles was kept so secret that the then Ambassador of the Emperor had not been able to discover its contents. He had flattered himself that the Archduke would have been named the heir. He had no longer any doubts, when the Grandees, who were assembled to hear it read, left the apartment of the late king, and he saw the Duke d'Abrantes approach with open arms, to embrace him. The Ambassador immediately assured him that he would inform the Emperor of the polite zeal that he had demonstrated towards the Emperor—but the Duke rather disconcerted him, in saying, with pleasant sarcasm, "I only come to take leave of the House of Austria !"

The will of Charles, which he thought, doubtless, a wise one under the circumstances, and one which should insure the integrity of his kingdom and the happiness of his subjects, was the foundation, in fact, of a terrible and prolonged war that extended through nearly all civilized

Europe and raged with a ferocity and persistence that had characterized no war since the Peace of Westphalia.

At the time of Charles' death an appearance in the Heavens caused wonder. The brilliant planet Venus shone when in opposition to the sun, although generally invisible at such a period. This prodigy, in those times of superstition, was considered, by some, a sign and favorable augury that the late king had been triumphantly welcomed to celestial abodes. Others construed the meteor as an omen of terror and of blood!

CHAPTER XI.

Effect of the Will of Charles II.—The Action of France.—Views of Louis.—Feeling in Spain.—Notification by the Junta to Louis.—Deliberations in the French Council.—Determination to Accept the Will.—The Duke d'Anjou summoned.—Speech of Louis to him and to the Court.—First Action of the Courts of Holland, England and Austria.—Louis' Letter to the States General.—Action of the Spanish Provinces.—Preparations for War in France.—Recognition of Philip by England.—Letter of William to Heinsius.—Opposition of the Emperor.—Menace to England.—Recognition by Louis of the Son of James II. as King of England.—Defiance to Holland.—Circular Letter of Louis to Europe.—Object of Louis in recognizing the Pretender.

EFFECT OF THE WILL OF CHARLES II.

ALTHOUGH, as has been before related, the King of France had entered into a solemn compact with England and Holland for the distribution of the Spanish dominions, the decease of the Spanish king, and his expressed will in favor of the succession of the whole realm to a Prince of the House of Bourbon, determined, in another way, the views of the King of France, if they had not been so determined, before.

The prize was too tempting to be avoided by the barren words of a treaty; and so, at the risk of another great European war, the King of Spain's wishes, as expressed by his will, endorsed by those of his subjects, and fortified, subsequently, by vote of the Cortes, were deemed paramount to any prior political or moral obligations.

The plausible pretext was put forward, in answer to contrary views, that a refusal to follow the wishes of the deceased sovereign and that of his people would certainly cause civil dissension and probably an European war. It was argued, also, that the fundamental aim of the Partition Treaty would, in fact, be carried out by adopting the

will, inasmuch as the succession, under it, would not cause the unification of the crown of Spain with that of either Germany or France; and Spain would remain intact and entire; while, if the terms of the treaty, on the other hand, were observed, France and other States would be aggrandized at the expense of Spain.

Louis, also, doubtless, was convinced that if he did not take the succession, Austria would do so; and, in fact, it subsequently appeared, that the Spanish couriers who bore the offer of the crown to Louis, for his grandson, in case of his refusal, were to tender it to the Archduke Charles.

It was evident, also, that a feeling in favor of a French Prince pervaded all classes in Spain—the *Grandeess*, the Cortes, the clergy, those learned in the law, and the lower orders seemed impelled by the same sentiment in favor of the reign of a new dynasty.

Authority from on High, also, was not wanting; for had not the Pope written from Rome, in July, 1700, “that the laws of Spain and the good of Christendom required that Charles should give preference to the House of France”?

The Junta, or council of Regency, and the Spanish Secretary of State, immediately on the King’s decease, had notified the French Court and expressed their desire to have the Duke of Anjou accept the proffered throne; this great news was received by the French Court, then at Fontainebleau, on the 9th of November, 1700.

Although it is probable that Louis’ intentions had been, from the outset, fixed for the Bourbon succession, he affected to be in doubt, as to whether the offer of the Spanish Crown should be accepted, and went through the form of assembling his Council of ministers, in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, for deliberation, before he sent his final answer of acceptance to the Junta. Madame de Maintenon was asked her opinion in this as in other important affairs, and expressed herself finally in favor of accepting the provisions of the will, but was, at first, much opposed to that step. The King and his council deliberated upon the matter for several days; and although some members of the council were opposed to it, on the 16th of Novem-

ber, it was officially determined, that France should recognize the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain!

Louis' policy had triumphed. For forty years this succession had been the subject of his political intrigues and personal ambition—and now, Spain, effete and helpless, placed herself under the protection and, indeed, under the absolute power of her former inveterate enemy. On the matter being determined, the King, with a sense of the great importance of the step he was taking, remarked, "I am sure that whatever course I adopt many people will condemn me." He, however, did not delay in announcing his intentions, and sent for the young Duke of Anjou to come to his cabinet.

He summoned also Philip's two brothers and their father the Dauphin (the son of a King and the father of a King—and yet no King); and, in the presence of the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis del Castel-dos-Rios, spoke to the young man these dignified and eloquent words: "Sir: the King of Spain has made you a king—the nobles demand you—the people desire you—and I give my consent. You are going to reign over the greatest monarchy in the world, and over a brave people, who have ever been distinguished for their honor and loyalty. I recommend you to love them and gain their affection, by the mildness of your government, and to render yourself worthy to reign over the monarchy, on the throne of which you ascend." Turning to the Spanish Ambassador, he said: "Sir, salute your king." The Ambassador, having kneeled and rendered homage to his new monarch, the doors were thrown open to the assembled courtiers, to whom Louis, holding his grandson by the hand, said in the lofty and dignified style that well became him and his royal state—"Gentlemen: behold the King of Spain!—his birth and the will of the late monarch have called him to the throne. The whole Spanish nation demand him—it is the decree of Heaven; and I yield to it, with pleasure." Again, addressing the new king, he said: "Be a good Spaniard, this is your first duty: but remember, that you were born a Frenchman, and to maintain the union

between the two crowns. You will thus render both nations happy and preserve the peace of Europe."

To the Courtiers and the Spanish Ambassador Louis thus expressed himself: "You will see me give my grandson no counsels except those that shall inure to the glory and interests of Spain. You will see him at the head of the Spaniards defending France—and you will see me at the head of Frenchmen, defending Spain."

Thus the grand cause of the "War of the Spanish Succession" was established.

FIRST ACTION OF THE OTHER POWERS.

After the intentions of the King of France as to the Spanish throne became manifest, both Holland and England sent urgent representations to him to the effect, that they had made the Treaty of Partition with the intention that it should be religiously observed, on all sides; and that they learned with surprise, that his Majesty had come to resolutions in opposition to the terms of the treaty; and demanded of him that he should adhere to it.

On the other hand, Austria had made a counter-notification and protested against any action under the treaty.

In the mean while, the States General, feeling that there was war in the air, notified all officers to return to their posts, and looked about for allies among the Protestant Princes. Louis XIV., having made up his mind as to his course of action in the matter, was not the man to hesitate in carrying it out: he wasted no time in explanations or apologies—a mere diplomatic manifesto declared his will.

The following letter sent by him to the States General is almost sarcastic in its tone, considering the then attitude of affairs.

"Very dear and great friends, Allies and Confederates: The tranquillity of Spain is so solidly established, through the just disposition that the late King of Spain, our much beloved brother, has made of his kingdom and estates, in favor of our very dear and much beloved grandson, Philip V., now King of Spain, that we do not doubt the part that

you will take on his accession to the crown. We have already communicated to him the good-will that we have for you ; and, as we are persuaded that his sentiments will be the same, the entire understanding that will henceforth exist between our Crown and that of Spain, will give us new opportunities of manifesting the interest we take in all that relates to you. The Count de Briord, our Ambassador Extraordinary, will give you further assurances of this : and, in the mean time, we pray that God, my very dear and great friends, Allies and Confederates, will keep you in his good and worthy charge.

“ Written at Versailles, the 29th November, 1700.

“ Your good friend, ally and confederate,

“ LOUIS.”

The States General returned a cold and polite answer to the address of the French king ; but did not express themselves definitely as to his action ; stating, merely, that the subject would have to be referred to the respective Provinces : in the end, however, Holland, after deferring the matter as long as possible, recognized the accession of the new King. This recognition was mainly due to the influence of the great commercial city of Amsterdam in the state councils. That city deprecated an immediate war, for which the country was unprepared ; and a dilatory policy was deemed advisable, which a formal recognition of Philip aided. There was no trouble to be apprehended with Spain : the Spaniards were all disposed to favor their new King, and thus preserve the entirety of their Kingdom.

Milan, Naples, Sicily, and all the other Provinces and places included in the Treaty of Partition, also prepared to maintain themselves as parts of the Spanish Kingdom, and manifested their intention of adhesion to the new king.

In the mean while great preparations were made in France, and troops began to take new positions on the frontiers ; which gave particular offence to Holland, and was the subject of urgent remonstrance.

All the other powers of Europe seemed apparently to

concur with the bequest of the King of Spain, and made, at first, no change in their friendly relations.

Even William III. seemed to acquiesce; and actually, under pressure of the general sentiment then prevailing in England, which preferred the accession of Philip to the adoption of the Treaty of Partition, sent a letter of congratulation to the new king: but his mind was made up for war; and he made active preparations for it; in which he was to a certain extent seconded by his Parliament; and in July, 1701, he sent 10,000 troops and twenty ships to Holland.

William thus wrote to Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary, on Nov. 16, 1700, in relation to the acceptance, by France, of the Succession.

"I doubt not but this unheard-of proceeding in France will astonish you as much as it did me. I never relied much on engagements with France; but must confess, I did not think they would, on this occasion, have broken, in the face of the whole world, a solemn treaty before it was well accomplished. The motives alleged in their memorial to the British minister at Paris are so shameful, that I cannot see how they can have the effrontery to produce such a paper. We must confess *we are dupes*: but if one's word and faith are not to be kept, it is easy to cheat any man. The worst is, it brings us into the greatest embarrassment, particularly when I consider the state of affairs here: for the blindness of the people here is incredible. For though this affair is not public, yet it was no sooner said that the King of Spain's will was in favor of the Duke of Anjou, than it was the general opinion, that it was better for England that France should accept the will than fulfil the treaty of Partition. I think I ought not to conceal this from you, in order that you may be informed of the sentiments here that are contrary to mine. For I am perfectly persuaded, if this will be executed, England and the Republic are in the greatest danger of being totally lost or ruined. I will hope that the Republic understands it thus, and will exert her whole force to oppose so great an evil. It is the utmost mortification to me, in this important

affair, that I cannot act with the vigor that is requisite, and set a good example; but the Republic must do it; and *I will engage people here*, by a prudent conduct, by degrees, and without their perceiving it."

There was no doubt about the sentiments of the House of Austria, as to the action of the French King. The Emperor, since the promulgation of the will, had maintained a threatening attitude, presaging the coming storm; and seeing that war was imminent and that negotiations would be useless, in July, 1701, gave to Villars, the French Ambassador, his *congé* for departure from Vienna; he had theretofore, in November, 1700, sent to the Spanish Junta a formal protest against the will of Charles. Matters with England, however, were now precipitated. Louis boldly threw a gauntlet to her, by recognizing the son of her exiled King, James, as King of England. This was a menace which the spirited and warlike William could not tamely brook. The recognition of the Pretender was made immediately on the decease of James II.; which occurred at St. Germain, in September, 1701. By the Peace of Ryswick William had been acknowledged by France as King of England, and this recognition of the son of James, as king, was a virtual infraction of that Treaty.

Louis also irritated Holland into immediate angry opposition, by intriguing with the Spanish court for the annexation of the Spanish Netherlands to France; and, finally, defied all Europe and tore all previous compacts to the winds, when he declared, through letters patent, that his grandson, in his due right, was still a *presumptive successor to the crown of France*. This declaration has been considered a great political mistake; and gave a new and grave offence to England, Holland and Germany.

Louis issued, also, a not very plausible circular letter to the courts of Europe justifying his action in recognizing the Pretender, as James III.; taking the ground that it was a mere honorary title, and that it really marked no hostility to England, as he was not going to judge between the respective rights of William and the Pretender, nor take any steps to restore the latter; but intended, merely, to extend

to him his protection and shelter, during his exile. He claimed that he had not violated the actual terms of the Treaty of Ryswick, which were, merely, to the effect, as he alleged, that France would not trouble William in the peaceable possession of his royal estates; and that William's conduct in uniting with the enemies of the French, and the despatch and preparation of troops and fleets, was a much more flagrant violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Ryswick than any recognition of the Pretender.

That recognition was, doubtless, a stroke of policy, on the part of Louis, rather than a blunder or a mere act of complimentary hospitality: he was too wise a king to take so serious a step without deep design. He saw that war was certain, under any circumstances, between France and England; and that, by formally acknowledging the Pretender, as King, he would strengthen the Stuart faction in Great Britain, and thereby foment dissensions there, and give encouragement to a large party hostile to William, who were ready, at any moment, for an outbreak.

CHAPTER XII.

Attitude of the other Powers of Europe against France.—The Electors of Cologne and Bavaria.—Action of Holland.—Louis takes possession of the Frontier Towns of the Netherlands, and removes the Dutch Troops.—Hesitation of Holland to declare War.—Attitude of Savoy.—The Elector of Brandenburg.—The Circles of the Empire.—Extract from a Pamphlet of the Time.—The Pope, Venice, Genoa and the Italian Princes.

THE determination of Louis XIV. to accept the Spanish succession for his grandson, under the will of the deceased Spanish king, excited a profound sensation in Europe.

The event seemed fraught with political disturbance and presaged evil.

The courts of the great States deeply revolved the questions dependent on the situation, and the unfortunate people of the various countries interested in the question, who were to be the actual men to be moved on the chess board of international contest, apprehended, with alarm, another general and terrible war which, to them, whosoever might succeed, would bring nothing but misery and disaster.

In the mean while, an immediate strengthening of forces and marching of troops to their respective frontiers took place, on the part of each Power, in anticipation of the action of others; while each doubted what course to take, and looked about for allies for the contest that was now lowering over Europe.

Louis immediately sounded the Courts of Europe, seeking their support; and opened negotiations with Portugal, Savoy, the Duke of Holstein, and several of the minor German States. In the mean time, while awaiting the course of events, France prepared herself, on all sides—regiments were filled—fortresses were strengthened—horses and munitions of war were supplied, and large bodies of troops were concentrated in French Flanders. The Elect-

ors of Bavaria and of Cologne, who were Uncles of the Duke d'Anjou, with little hesitation, ranged themselves by the side of France; although the situation of their States made them particularly exposed to the calamities and losses of war.

The Archbishop of Cologne was an Elector of the Empire, and controlled, besides Cologne and the surrounding district, Liege, Münster and Hildesheim: the towns in his dominions were strongly fortified, and as a German potentate, he could bring into the field an army of 20,000 men. The position of his territories also were of important strategic value, near the borders of the Netherlands, Holland, and the North German States, and he commanded, at many points, the passage of the Rhine. The Chapter of Cologne was indisposed, at first, to take sides. The Elector had placed levies of men in the domains of the Chapter, and thereby violated certain of its territorial rights. The Chapter made formal protest; to which the Elector made reply that the protest was impertinent and scandalous, imposed a new and onerous tax upon the community, and, contrary to the wishes of the people, admitted French troops into certain places in the city of Cologne and also in the Citadel of Liege.

And yet, the Electoral Archbishop claimed, that in case of war, he would maintain a strict neutrality—playing at first a double part. The Chapter of Cologne was afterwards taken under the protection of the Emperor, as against its Elector.

The attitude of Holland was at first not clear: the States General giving no assurance of friendship to the French minister at their Court, he was promptly recalled by Louis. In the letter of recall he states that it was done, "Seeing the little result following the conferences you have demanded of us, and which you have since so often interrupted." The Dutch States made a very polite and respectful, although probably a sarcastic answer; expressing a hope that the French minister would remain so as to finish negotiations.

The French considered this response a *ruse* to gain time

to prepare for war; which was, doubtless, its purpose. Louis anticipated the action and discontent of the Dutch, and not being able to gain them sought to terrify. His troops passed into the Netherlands, orders having been give to Boufflers, who was on the watch at Lisle, in French Flanders, to remove the Dutch troops who had been stationed on the frontier.

These Dutch troops were in occupation of certain fortresses in Flanders, Hainault and Luxembourg belonging to Spain, which were supposed to constitute the "barrier" of the Dutch against France. These fortresses were Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, Mons, Ath, Nieuport, and Oudenarde; and were occupied by the Dutch, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Ryswick. The French, with the concurrence of the Elector of Bavaria, who was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, removed these Dutch troops by strategy and misrepresentations, and occupied the fortresses. They allowed the Dutch forces to withdraw—not being desirous to provoke hostilities by making them prisoners. This removal of the Dutch troops was a matter of great mortification to William. He thus wrote to Heinsius in Feb., 1701: "You can well imagine what chagrin this event causes me. For twenty-eight years I have worked without cessation, sparing neither fame nor perils to preserve this barrier of the Republic: and now all this is lost, in a single day; and without a blow struck!" The French then threw up works near Antwerp, and occupied a camp at Bichelles, within the jurisdiction of Holland, in order to take possession of Maestricht, which the garrison, who had been bribed, was to deliver to them.

Holland, even after the removal of her troops from the barrier, although much exasperated, hesitated to take a final step, on account of her commercial risks; but, actuated by past souvenirs of French aggression, and apprehending new dangers from the Franco-Spanish alliance, she finally ranged herself with England and Austria, and the Treaty of the "High Alliance," signed at the Hague, on 7th September, 1701, resulted.

The Duke of Savoy inclined to the side of the French and Spaniards ; and, for a subsidy, agreed to furnish troops for the defence of Milan : a proposition for the marriage of his second daughter to the King of Spain, doubtless, much influenced his action ; and, toward the close of the year, he took the chief command of the French and Spanish troops, in Italy.

The future action of the powerful Elector of Brandenburg, son of the great Elector, was looked forward to with much interest. He had recently proclaimed himself as King of Prussia. In his proclamation he states, " Since Providence has willed that the Duchy of Prussia be raised into a kingdom, and that her sovereign, the most serene and most powerful Prince Frederic, become its king, this is now made known to all, by this Proclamation."

This proclamation was publicly made throughout Prussia in January, 1701 : and the promise of the Emperor to recognize the new king was a controlling argument determining the latter to take sides against France. The Pope, Clement XI., made a protest against this act as impious and inimical to the Roman Catholic religion, claiming that the Holy See had solely the right to create new kingdoms. This protest, of course, the Elector derided, and promised immediate assistance to the Emperor, on being recognized by the latter as King of Prussia.

The circles of the Empire were for some time in doubt ; they inclined, at first, to an armed neutrality. They were sought to be influenced in the interests both of France and the Emperor ; the Duke of Hanover was promised an Electorate, and the Prince of Baden was to be made commander of the troops to be provided by the German Princes. All manner of squibs, pamphlets and circulars were issued at this period of doubt ; one of them, in opposition to the war, it may be interesting to peruse, as showing the peace sentiment existing.

"Stranger.—'Ah ! Madame, in what a pitiable state do I find you. I expected to see, from afar, the *cortége* of a great queen ; and the nearer I approach, the more do you seem to me worthy of compassion.'

Germany.—‘Friend, whoever you are, you see perhaps the commencement of my funeral procession—’

Stranger.—‘But what crime have you committed, to be treated so harshly?’

Germany.—‘Ask it of those who treat me so badly.’

Stranger.—‘My dear sir, tell me, I pray you—you are dragging this poor woman by the hair—of what is she guilty?’

Courtier.—‘Insolent rascal!—is this the way you speak to the August Emperor, Leopold?’

Stranger.—‘Pardon—Gentlemen, I am a stranger: I never would have known him; but still, I ask the August Emperor Leopold, what has this poor woman done?’

Emperor.—‘I want to make her give me Spain and Italy, to give Flanders to the Dutch, and the Indies to my friend, King William.’

Germany.—‘Alas! with all the blood of my body poured out, would it answer the injustice of thy demand?’

Emperor.—‘Come, march on, Gentlemen—don’t give her time for reflection. Let her serve as a buckler for us against the arms of our enemies.’

Germany.—‘Barbarian! Will you then bathe in my blood? Where are your treaties, where are your oaths?’”

The circles of Suabia and Franconia, both bordering on France, at first entered into an arrangement for neutrality; and France employed all its interest to bring the other circles to the same mind.

As to the other minor States, the Pope wrote letters both to the new King of Spain, and to the other Powers; seeking to mediate between them: with great astuteness, however, he avoided expressing his views or inclinations; but sent, variously, much holy benediction, and wrote to the Emperor deprecating the horrors of the impending war, and lamenting that his mediation seemed useless; in the mean while, however, he recognized Philip as King of Naples.

Venice held aloof, in armed neutrality, although the Cardinal d’Estrées had been sent, in the interest of the French crown, to engage the Republic to prevent the entrance of the Imperial troops into Italy.

The Grand Duke, and the Dukes of Modena and Parma and other Italian Princes, also assumed a neutral part ; as also, Genoa, although they all favored the French.

The Duke of Mantua, on application of the French minister, General Tessé, and in order to save aggression by the troops of the Empire, opened his gates, and put the French troops in occupation of the strongest fortress in Italy, under the plea that he was compelled to do so by threats of a forcible entry.

The Spanish and French troops also planted themselves in other cities of Italy and awaited attack.

CHAPTER XIII.

Attitude of England as to the Succession.—William's War Sentiments.—Opposition by the Tory Party to the War.—England's Forces increased.—The Act of the "Protestant Succession" passed.—Effect of the Recognition of the Pretender by Louis.—Change of Views in England.—William's continued Efforts for War.—Address to the Commons, and their Reply.—The Oath of Abjuration.—William prepares for War.—Death of William.—Review of William's Career.—His Hostility to France.—His Character and Disposition.—His Qualities as a Soldier.—His last Words.

ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND.

THE attitude of England and its probable action, in this crisis of affairs, was a subject of deep concern to the Continental States.

The sentiments of King William were well known, and his determined hostility to Louis had never been shaken. His life-long opposition to that monarch was not the result of prejudice but of principle: he felt himself, in his very hostility, the champion of peace, and he fought Louis as a pestilential and baneful man, wielding a dangerous power.

In England, however, William could not say, as Louis is reported to have said in France, "*L'état c'est moi*," and move government and people to his will, as mere puppets of the crown.

A Free Parliament could restrain all movements of King and Ministers; and William, a comparative stranger in England, found that his only safe policy was to act far within his prerogative, and to quietly influence, rather than attempt to lead public opinion.

He deferred much to the sentiments of the people at large, and appeared before them in the rôle of the Defender of Protestantism against Papacy, and the Champion of the Protestant succession.

The general principles of the Tory party were in opposition to entanglement with foreign affairs. The Revolution and the accession of William to the throne, however, had placed him and the Whigs, who sustained his policy, in a position that involved England with Continental political issues. Whig policy had kept that country, as the Tories alleged, in wars that were unnecessary, either for her honor or her protection: the Dutch, they claimed, must make or protect their own barrier; and England had no direct concern in the matter.

It was this Tory party that now came to the front; and contrary to the policy and wishes, not only of the Whigs, but of the people at large, restricted the action of the Crown and Ministers, and sought to influence public opinion towards peace. They passed measures, also, disbanding a part of the army and cutting down the number to be maintained. Under these measures the Dutch troops in England were removed, much to the discontent of the English King. There existed, therefore, a strong and effective party opposition against the aggressive foreign policy favored by William and the Whigs, to engage England in the impending War of the Spanish Succession; and much bitter and hostile feeling was displayed in Parliament. The Tories prevailed in the House of Commons, and attacked those who had showed zeal in the regulation of Continental affairs: and manifested a desire to acknowledge the accession of Philip, as a substitute for the Treaty of Partition.

In accordance with William's earnest wishes, however, the navy was augmented and put in a state of efficiency, and additional troops were sent to Holland.

Although influencing the chiefs of the Whigs in his favor, he could not, with all his efforts, so far influence Parliament as to cause it to take any actual hostile attitude towards France: the Commons however brought accusations against those who had instigated or signed the Treaties of Partition; and both William and the Dutch States, with no good grace, as has been above related, finally brought themselves to acknowledge Philip of Anjou as the King of Spain, in meaningless words of diplomatic satisfaction.

The voice of the People, however, was for war; and petitions and memorials to that effect poured into Parliament: the English people sympathized with their heroic King, who had proved, in many a field, his manhood, and fitness to govern and protect a warlike nation.

In order to strengthen the Protestant cause and discourage the hopes of the partisans of the Stuarts, the Act of Succession, 10 Feb., 1701, was passed, establishing, after the death of William and of Anne, the succession in Sophia, Electress dowager of Hanover and her descendants, *being Protestants*: the Electress was a granddaughter of James I.; her mother being Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

Although apparently yielding to the wishes of the English majority in Parliament, the secret design of William was for immediate war: he began actively to set about the accomplishment of his ardent desire. He prorogued the Parliament, which he considered refractory to his views, so as to have less opposition at home, and proceeded to Holland, where had recently arrived 10,000 Irish troops, over whom he placed Marlborough in command.

The war had already been begun in Italy. The Emperor had drawn the sword, and Prince Eugene and Catinat were beginning hostilities. While apparently diverting himself with hunting at his pleasure Palace at Loo, William cautiously watched all the moves of the political chess board, and studied out his plans for the impending contest with his great adversary.

To stimulate a hostile feeling in England, William had caused a memorial to be sent from the Dutch States setting forth their apprehensions as to the designs of the French, and claiming the support of Great Britain, according to a treaty of alliance with that country, made in 1677. These memorials became frequent, and were all supposed to have been instigated by William, who continued ceaseless in his endeavors to dispose the Commons and the country at large towards war, in spite of all opposition.

While England was still in doubt as to her action, James II. died on the 16th Sept., 1701; and his son, as has been

related above, was immediately recognized, by the King of France, as James III. of England.

The day after the decease of James, a herald in his official trappings, made his appearance before the Palace gate of St. Germain, and to the sound of trumpets formally proclaimed in Latin, French and English, the young Pretender as King James the Third of England, and King James the Eighth of Scotland.

When the news arrived in Holland, that Louis had recognized the son of the deceased James as King of England, William was in that country, and was at table with some German Princes.

The news astounded them—they recognized in the act a declaration of war. William did not at first utter a word, except to announce the decease of James, but he is said to have flushed with rage, and pulled down his hat over his face to conceal the emotion he felt. He sent immediate orders to England to drive the French Ambassador, Pousin, out of the kingdom without delay: the English Ambassador, Lord Manchester, had already quitted Paris, without taking the usual diplomatic leave.

This direct menace was received with an indignant protest throughout England—it was considered an insult and affront to that kingdom, that Louis should dare to dictate who should be its ruler—and addresses were sent from all parts of the country to the King, of sympathy in his action, and of indignation against France. William had now a new and powerful pretext for war: in every way he fanned the growing flame, but dared not act without Parliament: he knew, however, that war was imminent, and returned to England to urge his views, after arranging with the Dutch a plan for opening hostilities, in the next year.

On his return to England, William urged on the Whigs to prompt action;—the act of Louis had exasperated even the Tories, but had not yet determined them to declare positive war.

William's address to Parliament was couched in strong and plain language. A part of it was as follows:

“The owning and setting up the pretended Prince of

Wales for King of England, is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the Nation, but does so nearly concern every man who has a regard for the Protestant Religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart, and to consider what further effectual means may be used for securing the possession of the Crown in the Protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all Pretenders, and their open and secret abettors.

“By the French King’s placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence, he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy; he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it, as of his own dominions; and, by that means, he has surrounded his neighbors in such a manner, that, though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expense and inconvenience of war. It is fit I should tell you, the eyes of all England are upon this Parliament; all matters are at a stand, till your resolutions are known; and therefore no time ought to be lost.” He thus concludes: “I will only add this, if you do, in good earnest, desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to appear indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it will appear by the present opportunity.”

To this address the Commons made speedy reply, that they “would support and defend his lawful and rightful title to the Crown against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all his adherents, and all other of his Majesty’s enemies, and they would enable his Majesty to show his just resentment of the affront and indignity offered him and the Nation by the French King.”

This act of recognition of the Pretender caused the oath or creed of abjuration to be enacted, which all members of Parliament were obliged to take.

After an assertion of the right of William to the throne, this declaration finished in these words, “And I conscientiously believe, that the person who during the life of the

late James II. was called Prince of Wales, and who, since his death, pretends to be or who takes the title of King of England, under the name of James III., has no right, name or title to the crown of this Kingdom, and of its dependencies; and I declare, solemnly, that I renounce, refuse, and abjure all allegiance or obedience to the said James, etc."

The recognition of the Pretender was the immediate cause of determining England to the war, and Parliament voted supplies when the national existence and rights were threatened, which they had refused when a mere alliance with the House of Austria, to support her claim, was apparently William's object.

Just as his wishes were about to be fulfilled—sanguine with the hope of meeting and crushing his arch enemy—with ample means, and alliances that promised success, William III. died in March, 1702, at the early age of 51,—his health having been impaired by long cares and toil of body and mind—and Queen Anne ascended the throne.

The alliances and preparations for the great struggle, had been the result of nearly three years of negotiation, when the master mind that promoted them was arrested—and, in the dull repose of the grave, now lay, helplessly, the hand of him that had long and unweariedly wielded the sword against the disturber of the peace of Europe.

WILLIAM III.

So passed from the arena of European war and politics one of the great men of the 16th century. His public career began early.

It was in 1672, when most of the towns of Holland were in the possession of the French forces led on by Turenne and the great Condé, and English and French fleets ravaged, bombarded and blockaded the coasts—while the little Dutch army, as yet untrained in war, lay terrified and motionless, after successive defeats by French, English and German forces—when France dictated terms of peace so dishonorable that every Dutch heart spurned them, in disdain—when dikes were broken, and sluices were opened,

rather than a surrender should be made of liberties and religion—when cattle and crops perished, and the rural people fled for their lives to the beleaguered cities, that William, then barely 23 years of age, was proclaimed Stadtholder and Captain General, and boldly entered upon the great trust of defending the honor and liberty of his country. In this great contest with France, he displayed a fortitude and a patriotism that showed his descent from his illustrious ancestors and stamped him as a hero in history. Steadfastly, he subsequently opposed the gigantic power of France; and for thirty years was the champion of the liberties of Europe—the one man, who successfully checked the arrogant French King, set limits to his ambition, and foiled his schemes.

Opposed, even as a young man, to the vast resources of a king who had never known defeat, and to veteran troops long accustomed to conquer, and to generals the most renowned and experienced in Europe, he never shrank from the contest.

Firm and persistent in his hostility to Louis, as in all the great actions of his life, no danger intimidated, no disaster disheartened him.

Relentless and inflexible, he moved like a minister of fate, against him whom he deemed the scourge of religion and humanity—impressed with the impulse of a power from on high, and feeling his mission one of holiness as well as patriotism.

William's character has been often analyzed and portrayed.

In manner he was cold, silent and undemonstrative; reserved and inaccessible even to his friends, his own self-reliance and self-consciousness seemed to require little counsel, and called for few friendships. And yet, his disposition was kindly and humane—and although stern as a king and a general, mercy tempered his judgments and his generosity often pardoned determined personal enemies.

His thoughtful and grave countenance indicated a mind involved in serious concerns, which had no taste for the pleasures of Courts or the pastimes of social life.

Dispassionate and self-controlled in his actions—grave in his demeanor—simple and severe in his tastes—rigid in his own rules of conduct, but tolerant towards others—biassed by no prejudices—actuated by no caprices, governed by no passions and instigated by no ambitious views—he formed a strong personal contrast to his great adversary, as he was his great rival and counterpoise in European politics.

In his government of England still unsettled and malcontent, and jealous of a foreign king—threatened by conspiracies—opposed by powerful factions, harassed by turbulent Parliaments—his life attempted by assassins, and his confidence betrayed by friends, he pursued an undisturbed career; and with a firm, calm wisdom guided the great ship of State, although wearied and ill of body, and afflicted in spirit.

High-minded and honorable—although a skilled politician, and wise in all affairs of State, he never used false or indirect means to further his aims, nor appeared other than he was. He scorned deceit in public as well as in private affairs, and he sought no success except that which open action might bring.

When De Tallard, the French Minister at London, was negotiating with William the terms of the first Treaty of Partition, in writing to Louis of the progress of negotiations, he gave, in these words, the strongest testimony of the frankness and truth, that marked the dealings of this truly great King. "The King of England acts with good faith in everything. His way of dealing is upright and sincere." And again, "The King of England has hitherto acted with great sincerity; and I venture to say that, if he once enters into a treaty he will steadily adhere to it." Louis also wrote back to Tallard, "I am, however, as confident in the word of the King of England contained in the writing which he has given you, as if the treaty were drawn up in all formality."

Bishop Burnet, who knew him well, records that William scouted at a well formed plan to inveigle on board a ship and kidnap James, and then send him to Italy or Spain, when the latter was forming his army in Ireland—a plan

which promised success, and would have brought the war to a speedy close. "William, however," Burnet states, "who scorned underhand actions, said he would have no hand in treachery."

Unselfish in his aims he always rejected any advantages personal to himself, that were offered to promote a public result. Early in his career, he contemptuously repelled the offers of the French King to give him a principality, on the condition of abandoning his command, and betraying his trust, as defender of his country, and he refused, always, to make peace, no matter at what risk or loss to himself or his estate, unless the public interests were to be served.

He also refused to entertain terms for a peace much desired, and favorable to Holland, when it involved a desertion of her allies.

His courage was of that high order, which shrunk from no duty, and feared no peril. In battle he shared the common danger like the meanest soldier. Not merely content with the direction of the field, sword in hand he fought with the daring of a Homeric chief—ever foremost to lead, and reluctant to leave the field.

With an army of not over 14,000 men he crossed from Holland to England in the midst of tempestuous seas—threatened by navies and armies, and, unwelcome to half the people of Great Britain, he revolutionized that country, and boldly pushed his way to the Crown.

At Neerwinden, in desperate attempts to rally his flying troops, and arrest the progress of the enemy, three times was he struck by musket balls, while sword in hand, at the head of two of his regiments, he drove seven regiments of the enemy before him.

At the battle of the Boyne, he was struck in the shoulder by a cannon ball—one bullet struck the cap of his pistol, another carried off the heel of his jackboot, while his horse almost sunk with him in the muddy river, as he charged through the water, managing his bridle with his wounded arm, and led his men, sword in hand, into the thickest of that desperate struggle.

In his campaigns, while seldom successful in the open

field he was always ready for action, and never hesitated to attack; in the midst of defeat, by his strategy and energy, he kept the enemy's forces at bay, disconcerted their plans, and deprived them of their advantages—and ever indomitable, gathered new resources after defeat.

When William was on his death-bed, although his end was dignified and resigned, the ruling passion—opposition to French aggression, was still strong in his mind: "I am fast," said he to his sorrowing friends, "drawing to my end. You know that I have never feared death; there have been times when I should have wished it; but now that this great new prospect, (the impending war,) is opening before me, I do wish to stay here a little longer."

Stern man of war that he was, two great feelings had also prominence in his heart as he died—the one was friendship—the other conjugal love. His last request was that Bentinck should bend down over his bed, that he might whisper his last words of a friendship which had endured through life. When his remains were laid out, around his arm was found a small black silk ribbon; it contained a gold ring, and a lock of the hair of Mary.

Opposition to France was provided for: he had appointed the Earl of Marlborough to succeed him, as general of the forces against France; a man whose abilities he had discerned, and on whom he relied, in spite of the suspicion of many treacheries, to carry on the bitter contest.

Such was the force of his character, that William's principles and policy survived him. His decease made no radical change, and his spirit still moved the Alliance of the great Powers, long after his physical presence ceased to animate their councils and stir their resolves.

Marlborough, Prince Eugene and Heinsius were imbued with his sentiments, and inherited his views. England, Germany and Holland were retained in a permanent accord by their action; and their stern will kept up a hostility to France, as determined and relentless as that of the master hand, whose vital force had been checked, in mid career, as he was, for the last time, marshalling his forces for the field.

On the decease of William, Louis was well aware of the endurance of the English King's principles, as to opposition to France.

He testifies to this, in writing to Marsin, his minister to Spain, warning him to be still on his guard, and observing to him that he had best disabuse himself of any hopes of peace that events might suggest:—that William's maxims and ideas were still prevalent and that all his projects were still to be encountered; and, that, it was necessary still to counteract them, by endeavoring to persuade England and Holland that peace was preferable to a war that would be ruinous and without any good result to them.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Duke of Anjou departs for Spain.—Farewell to his Relatives.—Address to him by Louis.—The appearance and character of Philip.—Private Instructions to him from Louis.—Enthusiasm of the Spaniards.—Philip declines the Compliment of an Auto-da-fe.—Calamity on the entry of Philip into Madrid.—Prognostics of evil.—Banishment of the late Queen.—State of Spain.

PHILIP V.

THE young King Philip, then about seventeen years of age, had set out, on the 4th December, 1700, for Spain, to assume the cares and bear the heavy burdens of the crown, which had been so long the subject of bitter contention, and which was to be the “apple of discord” for Europe.

He crossed the Bidassoa, the dividing line between France and Spain, on the 22d January, 1701 : and bade an affectionate farewell to his two brothers, who had accompanied him to the frontier. He had taken leave of his royal grandfather, his father and others of his friends and kin at Sceaux, who, with tears, bade him farewell ; and then it was, that Louis, in giving his final exhortation that he should live in peace and good-fellowship with the French princes of the blood, and in hopes of prolonged peace between the two kingdoms, uttered the memorable exclamation “Henceforward, there will be no more Pyrenées !”

Philip entered Madrid on February 18, 1701, under every demonstration of joy.

All the Provinces, States and Colonies of Spain, in both hemispheres, hastened to send expressions of congratulation and submission to their new sovereign. Louis had long since gained over the Viceroy of Naples, and the Prince of Vaudemont, Governor of Milan.

Philip, Duke of Anjou, son of the Dauphin, and now King of Spain, as Philip V., had been brought up carefully

and purely in the midst of the dissolute French court. He was docile and gentle by nature, and of strong religious feeling. The great feature of his education had been awe of his grandfather and an entire devotion to his will.

He was, naturally, timid, and was deficient in self-reliance and self-assertion, which his subsequent conduct developed.

To teach him to reign, his grandfather not only gave him long written instructions, but placed those about him who were able and wise to guide and direct his youthful hand.

The written instructions of his grandfather to the young king were full of good sense, sound judgment, and excellent morality. Among the maxims or apothegms were the following: "Do not fail in any of your duties, especially those toward God. Keep yourself in the purity of your education, and declare yourself, on all occasions, in favor of virtue and against vice. Love your wife and live well with her. Ask one from God—one that may suit you. Love the Spaniards and all the subjects attached to your crown and your person. Do not prefer those who most flatter you: but esteem those who, for your good, are not afraid of your displeasure; those will be your true friends. Make your subjects happy, and, in that view, enter on no war unless you are forced to it, and for which you have well considered the reason in your council. Try to restore your finances, look well to the Indies, and your fleets and your commerce. Live in great accord with France; nothing being so good for our two States as this union, *which nothing can resist.*" After many other special exhortations, and much advice as to his future policy and conduct, Louis recommended Philip to put his full confidence in the Cardinal Portocarrero, and also, in the Duke d'Harcourt, who accompanied the young King, and to avoid all intercourse with the former Queen, and to watch her conduct; recommending him, also, to be liberal to the Spaniards, and not to ridicule their customs, appearance or manners; and he thus concludes: "Never forget your parents, and the pain that they have had in parting from you; and, above all, never forget that you are a Frenchman, whatever may

happen to you." The exhortation closes as follows: "I finish by one of the most important counsels I can give you—Do not let yourself be governed by anybody—be the master. *Never have a favorite nor a first minister.* Consult your council and obtain its views, but decide for yourself. God who has made you a king will give you all the lights necessary for you so long as your intentions are upright." At a subsequent time Louis wrote: "Inform me frankly of your thoughts and your troubles. I will give you my advice with the same sincerity; but I do not see what good it does you, under the fear that you have of ever coming to a decision. It seems to me that I have, several times, written you to overcome such fears. I would be glad to hear, some day, that you spoke as if you were master; and to hear no longer that people had to advise you, on even the smallest matters. It is almost better to make some slight mistakes, in acting for yourself, than to avoid them, by following closely the views of others. You see I am very far from reproaching you for having too good an opinion of yourself. I assure you I would be content if you would truly begin to govern your kingdom. It will require a long reign and great cares to establish order in your kingdom, and to insure the fidelity of the different people of your dominions—some far removed and accustomed to obey a dynasty different from your own. If you have thought it an easy and agreeable thing to be a king you are much mistaken. It will require much wisdom and you will require many favors from God to safely control these people of different characters, and all difficult to govern."

Louis kept on advising the young king ~~from~~ time to time, and he was assisted by Frenchmen of experience, that had been sent to remain with him, as his counsellors, under the great task entrusted to him of governing a large part of two continents.

The announcement of the choice of the Duke of Anjou as his successor by Charles, had been received with enthusiasm by the Spaniards. Great apprehension had been at first manifested by them, as to whether Louis would accept

the will, or would prefer to permit his grandson to take only a portion of the Spanish dominions, and allow the other Powers to take their shares, according to the Treaty of Partition. The Spaniards dreaded nothing so much as the dismemberment of their great empire.

Philip was therefore received with loud and universal demonstrations of joy and respect: triumphal arches were erected, and the houses were hung with brilliant draperies and banners. For a distance of fifteen miles from Madrid the road was covered with carriages and vehicles filled with ladies and courtiers richly dressed. He entered the royal capital accompanied by the Duke D'Harcourt, the Marquis de Louville, and a few other French nobles, and was received by the Junta and Grandees, among the foremost of whom was the Cardinal Portocarrero, who is said to have wept with joy at the success of his political design, and who looked forward to becoming the Richelieu of the new reign.

The good qualities and amiable disposition of Philip, his pleasing appearance, his fair face, and grave and dignified although gracious manners, all served to deepen the enthusiasm of the Spaniards for the chivalrous young monarch, who was to bring them peace and union with France, heretofore their great enemy, and who, defying the dangers in which his acceptance might involve him and exiling himself forever from his native country, had come to cast his fortunes and his life with them.

To display their great content, and in his glorification, they announced to him, as an extreme and special testimonial, the preparation of an *auto-da-fé*, to be celebrated on the day of his entrance; the Holy Inquisition having hunted up three unfortunate Jews for the *fête*, who were to be burned for the new monarch's entertainment. But the king refused to receive this tribute of Spanish loyalty and taste; and his gentleman of the chamber and friend, M. de Louville, curtly responded to the invitation, that "Kings only looked upon criminals when they pardoned them."*

* History informs us, however, that during Philip's reign many hundreds of heretics were burned by the "Holy Inquisition."

Amid the universal joy two occurrences caused the Spaniards, prone to all sorts of superstitious influences, to tremble for the prosperity of the new reign. More than sixty persons, among them priests, women and children, had been crushed, and perished in the crowd that awaited the arrival of the king, and witnessed the procession of his entrance into Madrid. The king, too, it was remarked, had entered Madrid on a Friday, a day full of terror to all true believers—and much that was sinister and sad was presaged.

One of the first acts of Philip was against the late Queen. Fearing that she might raise up a German party, she was compelled to leave the capital, and banished from the court, together with her confessor and the confessor of the late King.

The ambition of Portocarrero was at first gratified by being in full charge and control of the state and all its dignities. In no long time, however, he, as well as the late queen, was banished from the court, and they mourned together over the results of their treason to the Austrian party.

Amid all the glitter and show of the entrance and coronation there was a dark side. The nation was in a state of penury and misery. The navy had disappeared—there was only a remnant of an army, estimated at not more than 20,000 men—the Provinces were without garrisons and defence—the magazines without stores or arms.

The people, too, were impoverished and discontented, and irritated against the ruling classes, by reason of recent sufferings through famine. The nobles, too, were disquieted—and many, for purposes of economy, were removed from their places. The promise of happiness for the new reign was not great, especially in view of the threatening attitude of Spain's former allies.

Philip and the sagacious Frenchmen sent with him, therefore, found it no easy task to establish the new dynasty in Spain. The people were in a turbulent condition, the grandees complained, the nobles were arrayed against each other—demanding each other's disgrace; and cabals were

soon forming—some in the interest of the House of Austria. The Treasury, too, was empty—for the gold and silver from the Indies was purloined by the Jesuits or the statesmen—a dull routine reigned everywhere, and Spanish prejudices, etiquette, and ceremonies were obstacles to all reform, and clogged the administration. In the words of a French writer, “Philip found a true oligarchy, composed of persons united by pride, divided by ambition, and paralyzed by sloth:” and, it may be added, composed of beggars, of every description. The place-holders who had been discharged, even the cooks and the bevy of dwarfs, without which an old Spanish court was never complete, began to clamor loudly against the new rule, and one of the leading peers was arrested under suspicion of a plot to poison the king. The Pope, too, interfered, claiming the return of the Grand Inquisitor who had been exiled; and the Jesuits claimed the place of King’s confessor with extraordinary privileges as partial Secretary of State.

“Nothing can exceed,” wrote the Marquis de Louville, to De Torcy, in Feb., 1701, “the affection which this people testify for the King, of whom they make a sort of idol, and, if that only lasts, we will have nothing to desire. One thing, however, troubles me—that is, they have formed such extraordinary hopes for this new government, that unless God sends one of his angels, it is difficult to fulfil them. That a kingdom that is gangrened, from one end to the other, should be re-established, in a short time, is a vision, or rather a folly; but it is that of all people who always complain under the best government, and, of course, more still, under the others.”

CHAPTER XV.

Compacts of the Allies and Declarations of War.—Manifesto of the Emperor and Compact with England and Holland of 1701.—Compact with Prussia.—Influence of Marlborough, and Declaration of War, by England.—Forces to be raised by the Allies.—Manifesto by Holland.—Formal Declaration of War by the Emperor, and Circles of the Empire.—Compacts with other German States.—Declaration of War by France.—The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne.—The War, 1701-1703.—Prince Eugene's success in Italy.—Marlborough's prompt action.—Capture, by him, of Fortresses on the Maas.—Vendôme's successes in Italy.—War on the Rhine.—Insurrection in the Cevennes.—Holstein, Portugal and Sweden enter the Alliance.—Cession of Spain to the Archduke, and his Manifesto.—Savoy joins the Alliance.—War on the Rhine.

COMPACTS OF THE ALLIES AND DECLARATIONS OF WAR.

THE war clouds were now rapidly gathering over Europe, and the great Powers opposed to France began to take concert for alliance. England, Holland and Denmark had already, in January, 1701, in anticipation of trouble, united in a defensive compact. The Emperor, who had made a formal protest to all Europe against the acts of the French King and his grandson, (June, 1701,) had also entered into a formal treaty of alliance, in September, 1701, with England and Holland, for the redress of all their grievances against France, and to resist any further aggressive action on the part of the French Monarch.

The Manifesto of the Emperor strongly asserted his right to the Spanish Crown. It recites that the will of Charles II. was made when he was of feeble mind, and that he was forced to sign it by those in the French interest. It recites also the renunciations of the French queens, and the compacts against the union of the two crowns made between Spain and France. It thus concludes:

“Now whatever trickery or violence may have been, thus

far, carried on, or may be hereafter, God, who is the author, the witness and the preserver of treaties, will assist the justice of my cause—the Princes and States of Europe, and, particularly, the protectors and guarantors of the Peace of the Pyrenees and other treaties, will rise to repress this immeasurable greed of the House of Bourbon.”

“The People, themselves, who detest the strange hand of the foreigner that now oppresses them, remembering the kindness of the House of Austria, which they have proved through many centuries, and remembering their own duty, will soon openly return to their obedience; and the perfidious violators and infractors of justice, and their tyrants, and all their adherents, satellites and ministers will not, most assuredly, escape the divine and human punishment that awaits them.”

The Treaty of Alliance, of Sept., 1701, above referred to, made between the Emperor of Germany, the King of England and the States General of the United Provinces, states that the Emperor declares that the succession to the kingdoms and provinces of the deceased King (Charles II. of Spain) do lawfully belong to his “August house.”

It also recites the seizure of the “Monarchy or inheritance of Spain by his most Christian majesty, desiring to have the said succession for his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, and alleging that it comes to him, of right, by virtue of a certain Will of the deceased King of Spain.” It also declares, that by virtue of this seizure, “there is a great probability that his Imperial Majesty can never hope to have any satisfaction made for his pretensions; and will lose all his claim to his fiefs in Italy, and the Spanish Netherlands; as also the English and Dutch will lose their liberty of commerce and navigation in the Mediterranean, the Indies and other countries; and that the United Provinces will be deprived of the security they enjoyed by the interposition of the Provinces of the Spanish Netherlands between them and France, commonly called the Barrier. Lastly, it states that the French and Spaniards will become, in a short time, so formidable, that they will easily put all Europe under their subjection and dominion. The com-

pact, thereupon, declares that the Alliance is formed to meet a great and common danger, and that if satisfaction cannot be obtained for the Emperor and the other parties, "within two months, by amicable arrangement, the confederates are to assist each other with all their forces, to recover from the French King the Spanish Low Countries, which he had recently seized, as also Milan, Naples, Sicily and the lands of Tuscany, that belong to the Spanish dominions, and also all Spanish possessions in the Indies."

In case war ensues, the Treaty of Alliance further requires mutual support and communication of plans, and that no peace shall *be made unless jointly*; and, in no event, "Unless care be taken by proper measures, that the kingdoms of France and Spain *shall never come and be united under the same government*: nor that one and the same person shall be king of both kingdoms."

This treaty was signed at the Hague, the 7th of September, 1701, by the plenipotentiaries or delegates of the three confederating parties; among them was (as he is termed in the treaty), "The most noble, most illustrious, and most excellent Lord, the Lord John, Earl of Marlborough, General of the Foot and commander-in-chief of his said Royal Majesty's Forces in the Low Countries, his Ambassador Extraordinary, Commissary, Procurator and Plenipotentiary." Anthony Heinsius, "Counsellor and Pensionary of the Lords of the States of Holland and West Friezeland," a most bitter and persistent foe to France, was also a signer, with others, on the part of Holland.

On March 22, 1702, an additional Article was added to the compact of 1701, reciting that, as Louis had recognized the son of James II. as Prince of Wales (and King), no peace should be made with France until due reparation by her for such an atrocious injury.

The Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick III., had already concluded a treaty in November, 1700, by which the Emperor Leopold agreed to recognize him as King of Prussia, on condition of his furnishing 10,000 men to the impending war. He was crowned King on 18th January, 1701.

Prussia now came out openly for the allies. In Decem-

ber, 1701, and January, 1702, a treaty was made by Prussia, by which she was to supply for the war 5000 veteran troops—Holland and England each to pay one-half of their maintenance.

There was no indisposition to withhold aid from the Dutch on the part of Queen Anne, but she hesitated to make any formal declaration of war.

Marlborough, however, now generalissimo of the forces in Holland, anxious to bring matters to a point, in view of the dangers of delay, having arranged military plans with the Dutch, employed all his personal influence to decide the Queen for open war. Both Marlborough and his wife were high in the favor of Anne, and, in fact, directed her political conduct. He so used his powers of persuasion, being, as we are told, a man of most winning and persuasive manners, that the Queen and the majority of the Council yielded to his views, and decided to follow the counsels of the late King; consequently, war was formally declared on the 4th of May, 1702; and Marlborough went again to Holland as generalissimo, with the additional powers of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Forty thousand British troops were to be provided to fight the French—besides those who were to be sent to contend with the Spaniards in Portugal: the Fleet was to consist of 120 men-of-war. The Empire and the combined German States were to furnish upwards of 120,000 men, and the Dutch were to contribute 102,000, including 10,000 Hessians in their pay.

To raise so large a body of troops and sailors in Great Britain as was required for a war so prolonged and desperate as this one promised to be, was no easy task. The recruiting officer was busy throughout the land—a great sweep of the vagrant, and even many of the criminal classes was made. Many were compulsorily enlisted—imprisoned debtors were allowed to avoid their imprisonment, and willingly exchanged gloomy prison walls for the stirring life of the camp; and many a genteel adventurer and broken-down man about town was glad to enlist, with a view to a changing phase of the jade Fortune; and gave up

the jingling of glasses and the rattling of dice for the merry music of the fife and drum.

The Dutch also put forth a manifesto (May 8, 1702), declaring war against France and Spain, and charging Louis with having violated the Treaty of Ryswick and the Treaty of Partition, and that he had made attempts upon the liberties of the Dutch States, with a view to universal empire.

The manifesto thus concludes: "Thus all laws, divine and human, warrant our action; and being, in effect, blocked up, surrounded and besieged, on all sides, and insulted and attacked by the Kings of France and Spain, and seeing that we are menaced with so many dangers, we find ourselves obliged to resort to the means that God and Nature have put in our hands, for the defence of our subjects and the preservation of their religion and liberty—and, in consequence, to take up arms against the Kings of France and Spain, who have combined to ruin and destroy us, and to declare war against them, which we now do—trusting that God, the all-powerful, will abundantly bless our just cause, and the means we may employ."

The Emperor also put forth a formal declaration of war (15th May, 1702), setting forth among other things the action of Louis, in placing his grandson upon the throne of Spain, notwithstanding all contracts of marriage, renunciations, treaties of peace and present compacts. The Emperor called upon the Princes and States of the Empire to join with him. The Estates of the Empire followed the act of the Emperor, and on the 28th September published their manifesto, declaring among other things, that Louis had attacked the liberties of the German States, and sought to weaken them with the idea of establishing an universal Empire.

In March, 1702, the mutual treaty for protection had been made between five circles of the Empire, viz.: the Circles of the upper and lower Rhine, of Austria, of Franconia, and of Suabia; and stipulating to raise certain troops.

This compact was recognized by Queen Anne (11th June, 1702), and the Circles were included in the Alliance. The above five only of the circles of the Empire at first joined

the Alliance: they were to furnish an army of 44,000 men. The other circles, under the active influence of Austria, followed, except that of which the Elector of Bavaria was chief; and the consolidated Empire finally declared war against France, on the 30th of September, 1702.

In May, 1702, a convention had been made between England and the Elector of Treves, by which the latter entered into the Alliance to assist England and Holland, they paying him annually 50,000 crowns—he to garrison Ehrenbreitstein, Coblentz and Treves.

Compacts were subsequently entered into by Great Britain, with the Elector Palatine, the Bishop of Münster, the Dukes of Brunswick-Luneburg, and of Hanover and Zell, and other of the German States, for the supply of troops for the war, on certain subsidies being paid by Great Britain. Denmark was also to furnish 9000 troops.

Although the conflict at arms had been actually begun in Italy, it was not until July 3, 1702, in defiance of all the above manifestos and compacts, that Louis formally declared war. He recites the aggressions of the Emperor, his compacts with allies and preparations for war, and actual hostilities commenced by him. He therefore, as usual with all rulers, appeals for Divine protection, and formally declares war against the Emperor, England and Holland and their Allies. Besides the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who were disposed to support France, there were several of the smaller Princes, including the Dukes of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and of Saxe Gotha and the Bishop of Münster. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne had made special treaties, Feb. and March, 1701, with France, to assist in the impending war, and to prevent the passage of the Imperial troops; and the Elector of Bavaria, who was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, allowed the French troops to station themselves in the Spanish Netherlands, as has been above related.

The Duke of Mantua was in the French interest, and kept up a force of 6000 men to repulse the Imperialists in case they should invade his dominions.

Early in the Spring of 1702 camps of observation had been established by the allies, one at Nymeguen, one on the Rhine, one near Maestricht and another, composed of English troops, between Breda and Berg-op-zoom.

THE WAR, 1701 TO 1703.

It is not proposed, in a review of this character, to endeavor to give a particular account of the great military operations that, for twelve years, engaged the attention of Europe, during the great War of the Spanish Succession. A brief view of the principal events, in their order, will be doubtless deemed sufficient. The Spanish generals and governors in Italy and elsewhere in the Spanish domains, having acknowledged the authority of the new King, on his accession, hostilities with the troops of the Empire immediately commenced. The Emperor began the attack, claiming Milan as a fief of the Empire.

Prince Eugene suddenly gathered an army and penetrated into Italy; defeated the French at Carpi, a town in the Veronese, and occupied the territory between the Adige and the Adda. He also defeated the French under Villeroi, at Chiari. Villeroi had supplanted Catinat as Commander-in-chief, and had been peremptorily ordered to attack, by the French King, who was exasperated by the defeats sustained by Catinat, and desired to maintain the prestige of the French arms, and thus strengthen his alliance with the Italian princes.

Marlborough, when he entered on the practical operations of the war, although never before in command of great armies, showed the French generals that they were to have no idle time.

Directness, method, and activity characterized his first movements. He lost no time, but plunged at once into the heat of the struggle, and soon Europe was aware that England had, at last, a great General. He was at the head of 60,000 men which he had concentrated at Nymeguen. The enemy, under Boufflers and Catinat, were about ten miles south-eastward, near Gennep: and, although Marlborough

was somewhat disposed to risk a pitched battle, the Dutch Commissioners objected, not wishing the hazard of such a step, which might lose Nymeguen, and the Rhine frontier.

The Earl of Marlborough, however, determining to strike rapid and active blows, somewhere, concluded to attack all the fortified places on the River Maas.

On the 26th July, 1702, he crossed the Maas; and proceeding south and along that river, in a few months, took, almost in the face of a French army of equal force, Venloo, Roermonde, Stevensweert and Liege; and defied the French troops in the field. In the mean while Laudau had been taken by the forces of the Empire, in September, 1702.

These rapid defeats at the hands of Marlborough were humiliating to the French King, accustomed almost to dictate success. His grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, was in nominal command, and victories had been promised, to add to the glory of the Royal House. The young Duke, however, soon returned to Versailles, without the promised laurels.

Marlborough, now created Duke, after his return from a short visit to England, proceeded to take other fortresses on the Maas. Huy surrendered, and subsequently Bonn, on the Rhine, the residence of the Elector of Cologne. Cologne was also taken possession of by the allied forces, and its Elector, who sided with France, retired into that country, and the affairs of the Electorate were administered by the Chapter. The following Extract from an Address by the City of London to Queen Anne shows the feeling excited in England by these and subsequent successes.

“The Banks of the Danube will resound the name of the Duke of Marlborough to all centuries—of that Duke who by his courage and his conduct has by a vigorous blow raised up the tottering Empire, succored Savoy, chastised the Elector of Bavaria, and repressed the ambitious schemes of the French King.

“We owe all these things after God to the mighty judgment which your Majesty has manifested by the wise choice you have made of this General.”

The war raged violently, during the years 1702 and 1703.

The principal theatres were Italy and the Netherlands. In Italy, the Duke de Vendôme compelled Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Mantua and defeated General Visconti, near St. Vittoria, and a bloody and indecisive battle was fought, at Luzara. So great was the exultation in France over these victories of Vendôme, that Louis, by special letters to all his Bishops, directed Te Deums to be celebrated in all the churches of the Kingdom.

Marquis de Villars also defeated the Prince of Baden at Friedlengen, in Oct., 1702; for which victory he received a Marshal's baton, and Marquis Tallard took Treves and Tarbach, in the Palatinate.

A great naval victory soon inspirited the allies. The English fleet, under Admiral Rooke, on 22d October, entirely destroyed, off Vigo, in the Galicia, the combined French and Spanish fleet.

In this year, 1702, the Protestant Insurrection that had broken out in the Cevennes, acquired formidable proportions and spread into the neighboring districts.

Large armies, headed by Marshals of France, were required, before, with terrible slaughter and revolting cruelty, it could be brought to an end, which was not until towards the close of the year 1704.

The allies now strengthened themselves by further support from Protestant Princes. In the Spring of 1703, a convention had been entered into between England, Holland, and the Duke of Holstein, by which the latter, for a specified subsidy, was to furnish 2800 men for the war.

The King of Portugal had at first recognized Philip, and in June, 1701, had made a treaty, guaranteeing him the Spanish crown, and stipulated to shut his ports to all Philip's enemies. Seeing the great naval preparations of England and Holland, however, and much influenced by the Admiral of Castile, who had taken refuge in his dominions, he subsequently thought it for his interest to unite his fortunes with the allies, against France, and entered the alliance by the treaty of Lisbon, made 16th May, 1703, with England and Holland; and also on the same day made a treaty of alliance with the Emperor. Sweden also joined

the alliance, and in August, 1703, a treaty of friendship was made between Great Britain, Holland and Sweden, by which Charles XII. bound himself, so soon as he might make peace with Poland and Russia, to supply 10,000 troops to the allies.

A treaty had been theretofore made (May, 1703) between the confederate powers, by which the Archduke Charles was recognized as King of Spain, to the exclusion of the elder son, Joseph, the heir apparent.

On the 12th of September, 1703, a formal cession of the Crown and dominions of Spain was made by the Emperor Leopold and his eldest son Joseph, to the Archduke Charles Leopold. The nomination of the Archduke, as King, further irritated the Spaniards, who rallied enthusiastically about their new King, and joyfully took the oath of allegiance that was imposed in the principal cities of the Kingdom. In the mean while, the Archduke Charles, under the name of Charles III., was publishing manifestoes, in Spain, as if he were *de facto* monarch, asserting the validity of his own claims, denouncing the ambition and dangerous policy of Louis XIV., setting up the renunciations of the two Spanish Princesses, wives of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., as bars against the claims of their descendants, questioning the validity of the will of Charles II., and protesting against the position that he could, by his will, even if valid, change the course of succession that had been settled by solemn renunciations and treaties. At last the Duke of Savoy, fearing an invasion of Austrian troops, and being disappointed of the payment of his subsidies by France, turned his back on Louis, and joined the alliance, 25th Oct., 1703; leaving some of his troops in the hands of the French, who disarmed them. Three years had now passed in forming the great combination of all these powers against France. Louis' letter to Victor Amadeus, the Duke of Savoy, was as follows:

“SIR: Since religion, honor, interest, our alliance and your own signature have gone for nothing, between us two, I send you my cousin, the Duke of Vendôme, at the head

of my armies, to explain my intentions to you. He will give you 24 hours to make up your mind.

“LOUIS.”

War was formally declared against Savoy, in Dec., 1703. Prince Eugene says of the Duke of Savoy, “he was sordid, ambitious, deceitful and implacable. He first sided with the Emperor in the former war (1695), afterwards with France, and then made a truce or treaty of neutrality, after having received subsidies from Germany and Holland (1696).”

“His conduct,” also says Eugene of him, “reminds me of that formerly pursued by the Dukes of Lorraine, as well as the Dukes of Bavaria. Their geography prevents them from being men of honor.”

In the year 1703 Marshal de Tallard retook Landau, defeated the Prince of Hesse Cassel, near Spire, and put the allied armies to the rout. The Imperial troops now, in turn, invaded Bavaria; but Marshal Villars, and the Elector of Bavaria, having united forces, defeated the Imperial army at Schweningen, and the Duke of Burgundy took Brisach, (Sept., 1703), for which a special *Te Deum*, throughout France, was celebrated.

Villars took Tongres, early in May, and Boufflers was victorious over the Dutch at Eakern; while, in Italy, the Duke of Vendôme and Marshal de Tessé took possession of nearly all the Duchy of Savoy.

Late in the Autumn of the year 1703, however, the allies became masters of Limburg and Gueldres. The results of the war, in this year, were generally encouraging for France.

CHAPTER XVI.

War 1704 and 1705.—The Archduke goes to Spain, with an Army.—His Manifesto to the Spaniards.—Taking of Gibraltar by the English.—War on the Danube.—Battle of Blenheim.—The French and Bavarians driven over the Rhine.—Consternation at the French Court.—Losses of the French.—Vendôme successful in Italy.—Siege of Gibraltar.—War in Spain.—The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne put under the Ban of the Empire.—War 1706 to 1708.—The Battle of Ramillies.—All Flanders open to the Allies.—Louis' speech to Villeroy.—War in Italy and Spain.—Raising of the Siege of Turin.—Triumph of the Archduke in Spain.—He enters Madrid.—Philip contemplates leaving the Country.—Battle of Almanza and complete defeat of the Allies, by Marshal Berwick.—Philip re-enters Madrid.—War in Germany and Italy.—The French take Ghent and Bruges.—Great Battle of Oudenarde.—The French Retreat.—Taking of Lisle.—War in Italy and Spain.—The Pope takes Sides and is Defeated.

THE WAR DURING THE YEARS 1704 AND 1705.

IN the year 1704, in Piedmont, the Duke of Vendôme took Vercelli and Ivree; and, in Spain, the Duke of Berwick saved the kingdom, by preventing the Portuguese army from marching to Madrid. The Archduke Charles, having been declared King of Spain, was now sent by the Emperor into Portugal, which country was fighting vigorously on the side of the allies. The Archduke took with him 12,000 English and Dutch troops, and Spain now became a prominent theatre of the war.

In the Spring of 1704, the Archduke published a manifesto to the Spaniards, claiming that it was for their advantage, and for the public good and safety, that he should be received by them. He enlarged upon the fact that the Bourbon King would be governed by French favorites, who would be despotic in their rule; that the morals of the French would corrupt the Spanish people, and that they would ridicule the gravity and decorum of the

latter; that the French were frivolous, quarrelsome and violent, and would, to gain their ends, regard neither sex, age nor merit: that the Spaniards would also be insulted in their religion by the French, who were only half Catholic, and little Christian, and that they had derided and insulted the Pope—and, above all, that the spirit of philosophic Atheism was walking about in France, showing a bold front, ridiculing piety and making itself the fashionable belief.

With many other long and extended reasons, highly elaborated, he concludes:

“Let us imagine Spain under French rule, morals corrupted, religion and piety despised, honest people insulted, the people reduced to misery, the Grandees abased, strangers masters of the riches and strength of the country, the King governing, like a Turk; his favorites, soldiers, officers and other ministers of his power rigorously exercising a rule that Samuel predicted for the children of Israel; dishonoring families, helping themselves to whatever they want, and answering complaints by rude mockery or new affronts.” He, finally, predicts for them the fate of the Frenchmen during the Sicilian Vespers, and calls upon “the countrymen of the Gonsalvos, Ximenes, Toledos and Pizarros,” to support him.

About this time, Gibraltar was taken by the Prince of Darmstadt and the English fleet under Admiral Rooke. Although strongly fortified and supplied with guns, it contained only a garrison of 100 men—so impregnable was it deemed from its position.

A bombardment from the fleet, of 1500 cannon balls, made no impression on the place; but, on the 2d day of the siege, being the festival of a local Saint, the garrison and inhabitants deemed it more advantageous to propitiate the Saint by prayers and processions, for their defence, than to attend to the business themselves.

A small party of soldiers, thereupon, whose approach was undreamed of by the garrison, in a part of the rock deemed inaccessible, mounted the cliffs, while a party of sailors, landing without opposition on the mole, easily drove the Spaniards before them; and, in a very short time, troops

coming to their aid, a complete lodgment on the ramparts was made. Admiral Rooke, thereupon, took formal possession of the place, in the name of the Queen of England—and with the English it still remains—the first stone, says a Spanish historian, that fell from the vast and ruinous edifice of the Spanish Monarchy.

At this time, took place a pitched battle of momentous character. The great battle of Blenheim or Hochstadt, resulting most disastrously for the French, was fought on the 13th of August, 1704.

The Duke of Marlborough had boldly determined to transfer the theatre of war from Flanders to the Danube. This advance movement contemplated leaving fortresses of the enemy in the rear; and was one that eminently displayed the military genius and daring of the great commander. The plan was to be kept secret; and to draw attention from it, a statement was given out that a campaign on the Moselle was intended.

The king of France, too, had determined to carry the war, on his part, into the heart of Germany; and, after having overcome all opposition on the Rhine, intended to transfer operations to the Danube, and strike terror to the Emperor, by capturing Vienna, his capital. He also desired to relieve his ally, the Elector of Bavaria, who had been shut off from all communication with France, by the skilful disposition of the allied forces.

In prosecution of this plan, Marshal Villars took the strong fortress of Kehl, on the German side of the Rhine, and, after driving back the Prince of Baden, the French marched rapidly to the Lake Constance, where a junction with the forces of the Elector of Bavaria was made, with whom had wintered a large French force, under Marsin.

The project now was, that an overwhelming French force should concentrate at Ulm, on the Danube.

In the mean while Marlborough, with his motley army of English, Dutch, Danes and Germans, concealing his main purpose, was marching south along the Rhine, with a design to strike his critical blow, by attacking the French armies that were forming for the campaign of the Danube, and

thus protect the Emperor and Vienna, and punish the Elector of Bavaria, whose territories would be then exposed. On the route, Marlborough was joined by Prince Eugene and the Margrave of Baden; but as a new French force was approaching, Prince Eugene was sent to keep it in check. Marlborough and the Prince of Baden, with united forces of about 60,000 men, then advanced, in rapid marches, and took, by gallant assault, the fortifications of the Schellenberg in Bavaria, and the old town of Donauworth, a critical and commanding position on the Danube. The Allies were now masters of the main passages of the Danube—and had a strong place as a basis of action. The allied leaders thereupon sent troops into the heart of Bavaria, and devastated the country even to the vicinity of Munich—burning and destroying as they marched, and taking several minor fortresses. Marlborough's forces and those of Prince Eugene were distant from each other some forty miles, when came the news of the march of a French army of 25,000 men under Tallard, to form a junction with the others, to succor the Elector, and take revenge for the defeat of the Schellenberg. Two French Marshals, Tallard and Marsin, were now in command: their design was to attack Marlborough and Eugene's armies, in detail. By rapid marches, Marlborough crossed the Danube and joined Prince Eugene near Donauworth, and thereupon occurred one of the most important and decisive contests of modern times, fought between the old town of Hochstadt and the village of Blenheim, about fifteen miles south of Donauworth. The skilful tactics of the allied generals precipitated the battle.

The allied French and Bavarians numbered 60,000 men—the English, Dutch and Germans and other allies, about 53,000. The allies were allowed to cross an intervening brook without opposition, and form their lines. A great charge, in full force, of the allies was then made; they broke the enemy's extended line; and an ensuing charge of cavalry scattered his forces right and left, and drove many into the Danube. More than fourteen thousand French and Bavarians, who had not struck a blow, except

to defend their position, entrenched and shut up in the village of Blenheim, waiting for orders to move, were then surrounded by the victorious allies, and compelled to surrender as prisoners of war.

The scattered remnants of the French and Bavarian army either disbanded, or were driven over the Rhine. The victory was complete and decisive. The garrison at Ulm capitulated, and the Elector fled into France.

This defeat was most disastrous to France, and caused a profound sensation throughout that country. She heard with astonishment and alarm that twenty-seven battalions of her veteran infantry, and twelve squadrons of dragoons had surrendered themselves as prisoners of war, without striking a blow in their defence.

It was indeed true, that, of the best troops of France, eleven thousand infantry, and 3400 dragoons, that were stationed in the village of Blenheim (or properly Blindheim), had been thus captured. Twenty thousand of the French and Bavarians, in all, were taken or wounded—one hundred cannon, 24 mortars, 13,600 tents, and 300 flags, also remained with the conquerors. The terrible struggle cost the allies about 11,000 men, killed and wounded.

The French, after the battle, could collect only 20,000 effective men out of the 60,000, who, long accustomed to victory, had confidently entered into the great battle. They had lost, too, the general of the army, the Marshal de Tallard, and over 1200 officers.

What was worse, the *prestige* of French troops had departed. All Germany was abandoned to the Allies; and Louis began to feel the first of a series of humiliations that Fortune had in store for him.

After this great victory Marlborough entertained the bold project of marching into France, but was checked by the strong position that Villars' army had taken to check his purpose.

The news of the great disaster at Blenheim arrived at the Court in the midst of rejoicings at the birth of a great grandson of Louis. Its effect was appalling: France had not been accustomed to misfortunes. Every prominent

family in the kingdom had a relative slain or wounded. Public indignation was aroused against generals and ministers, and a great disgrace was recognized. All refrained from communicating the direful news to the great King. At last Madame de Maintenon was deputed to make the unwelcome disclosure.

As a result of the battle of Blenheim, disastrous to Bavaria as well as to France, the Elector was obliged to leave his dominions; and, subsequently, the Electress, who was left as regent, in November, 1704, was obliged to make a general capitulation to the Emperor, disbanding the rest of her army, and yielding up all the fortresses in Bavaria; and the country was divided up into lordships and seignories. After this battle, the remains of the Elector's army had crossed the Rhine, and joined the French; they were followed by the allies, who subsequently besieged and took Landau, on the 23d November; and afterwards Treves.

In the year 1705, the French were more successful in Italy: they took Nice, Mirandola, and other towns: the Duke of Vendôme, also, on the 16th August, gained the battle of Cassano, in the Milanese, over Prince Eugene—in which the Imperial army lost over 8000 men, and Prince Eugene was diverted from his purpose of reënforcing the Duke of Savoy. On the other hand, the Marshal de Tessé, who had besieged Gibraltar with a French fleet and an army of 8000 men, the importance of which place was now becoming evident, was compelled to raise the siege. The Portuguese, however, were successful in their operations, and took Salvaterra, Valencia, Alcantara and Albuquerque. The Archduke, also, with the assistance of the English, under the Earl of Peterborough, took possession of Barcelona, and established himself there: and afterwards occupied nearly all Catalonia and Valencia.

The Electoral Archbishop of Cologne, and also Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, were soon after formally put, by the Emperor Joseph, under the Ban of the Empire, on account of the part they had taken in the war.

After reciting the hostility of these Princes to the Empire, and their accord with its enemies—they are in terms

“put under the Ban and after Ban of the Empire,” and are declared “to be subject to all the pains and penalties it involves, deprived of all their states, estates, dignities and offices; and their subjects and all persons are to cease giving them recognition, aid or support; and they are put out of the peace and protection of the Empire.”

During the rest of the year, the armies in the Netherlands and on the Rhine remained comparatively inactive, with the exception of the taking of Huy on the Meuse, by the French, and its retaking by Marlborough. The Prince of Baden, also, captured Drusensheim, on the lower Rhine. Marlborough's action, however, was much restricted by the timid councils of the Dutch.

THE WAR, 1706 TO 1708.

The war, during the years 1706 and 1708, proceeded with unceasing activity. The allied army concentrated at Bilsen, north of Liege, and moved in a westerly direction. On the 13th May, 1706, took place the battle of Ramillies, in Brabant, about twenty-five miles south-east of Brussels, in which the allies, under the Duke of Marlborough, completely routed the French army of 80,000 men, under the Marquis of Villeroi, the engagement lasting less than an hour.

After this great victory the allies entered into Antwerp and Brussels; Ostend and Menin opened their gates. Ghent, Bruges, Louvain, Dendermonde and Mechlin submitted; and all Flanders was lost to the French up to the very gates of Lisle, the French army retreating almost to the French frontier.

It is recorded that Marshal Villeroi was so prostrated by his defeat, in which the French army lost upwards of 20,000 men, the flower of their troops, that he did not send any despatch to the King, but rested five days, moodily, in his tent; and not until the expiration of that time wrote to Louis, confirming the terrible news, which put the French Court again into consternation.

When the Marshal appeared, on his return to Paris,

before the King, instead of receiving reproaches, Louis merely remarked to him, in his usual bland and courteous manner, "M. le Maréchal, one cannot be fortunate at our time of life."

In Italy, the French were, for a time, successful. The Duke of Vendôme gained the battle of Calcinato near Mantua, over the German forces; but he, having been ordered to the Netherlands, to endeavor to regain French laurels there, the French under Marshal de Marsin were compelled to raise the siege of Turin, being badly defeated by the Imperialists, under Prince Eugene, who had made an invasion into Piedmont, and driven back the French into Dauphiné. By this disaster, the French lost Modena, Mantua, Milan, Piedmont, and practically, the Kingdom of Naples. All the places in Lombardy were also placed in the power of the allies.

In Spain, the French and Spanish had been equally unsuccessful. The King had been forced to raise the siege of Barcelona, and had been compelled to take refuge on the French frontier; and Catalonia became open to the German troops.

The Portuguese made themselves masters of Ciudad-Rodrigo and Albuquerque; and Carthage, in the South, and Salamanca in the North, in June and July, fell into the hands of the Allies. The forces of the Empire and the Portuguese, made triumphant by these victories, penetrated to Madrid, on the 6th July, 1706, and there proclaimed the Archduke Charles, as King, and the islands of Yvica and Majorca sent in their adhesion to him.

When Charles entered Madrid, among those who came to greet him, and who hailed his arrival with joy, were the widowed Queen of Charles II. and the veteran diplomatist, Cardinal Portocarrero, the hero of the intrigues of 1701. Their misfortunes and exile from Court had united them in hatred against the Bourbons, whose ingratitude they loudly denounced. The Queen put off her mourning and arrayed herself in jewelled state, and Portocarrero performed a grand Te Deum in his cathedral at Toledo, and went through the ceremony of blessing the Austrian standard;

concluding the day with a sumptuous banquet and illumination at the Episcopal Palace.

After the great progress made by the party of the Archduke in Spain, the fortunes of Philip seemed so desperate, that it was contemplated, as the proper policy to adopt, that he should abandon the crown of Spain, and proceed to the Spanish possessions in America, to reign there. The court of Versailles had much serious deliberation on the project. But the courage and fidelity of the Spaniards, the fortitude and energy of the Queen, and, finally, changes in the fortunes of the war, caused a different course to be adopted; and Philip, determined to fight out the contest to the last, was rewarded, by being able to re-enter Madrid, in triumph, three months after leaving it, a fugitive.

The restoration of Philip to Madrid was mainly due to the skilful generalship of Marshal Berwick, the illegitimate son of James II., who was one of the ablest commanders in the French service. The Duke of Orleans had been appointed Generalissimo over the forces in Spain, and arrived to take command just a day after the great and decisive battle of Almanza in New Castile, gained by Berwick, on the 25th April, 1707. The French loss in this battle was only 2000; of the enemy, 5000 were killed and 10,000 taken prisoners; among them were six Major-Generals. The French thereupon drove the Archduke from Madrid; and Philip, at the close of April, 1707, having been re-established at his capital, immediately pushed his conquests towards Portugal, and also took possession of Murcia, Valencia and Aragon, with the exception of a few strong places; Carthage was also taken by Berwick, in November.

During the year 1707 the French were not so successful in Italy. They were compelled to evacuate all Lombardy, and were finally driven out of all Naples, by the Austrians, under General Daun; on the other hand, the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, in August, 1707, failed before Toulon, with heavy losses, the place having been besieged, by land and sea. Their forces after the failure retired into Piedmont.

During this year, 1707, in Germany, Marshal Villars, after

several conflicts, took possession of the Duchy of Wurtemberg, and levied contributions from the Rhine, far inland to Nuremberg; but was subsequently driven back, over the Rhine, by the Elector of Hanover. The balance of advantage this year was in favor of France and Spain.

In 1708 the greater part of the forces of the belligerents were concentrated in Flanders, which thereupon became the great theatre of the war, the French having determined to move forward over the Flemish frontier and recover the great towns taken by the allies during the previous year; while Villars was to oppose the Duke of Savoy, in Piedmont, and the Duke of Orleans, the King's nephew, was to command in Spain. The King's grandson, the young Duke of Burgundy, in order to inspire the troops with the presence of a Prince of the blood, was nominally in command of the French army for Flanders, then 100,000 strong, but with him, as practically the commander or director, was the Duke de Vendôme. The army of the allies consisted of about 80,000 men.

The French, not daring a battle in the field, so manœuvred, that, with little trouble, they took, mostly by surprise, Ghent, Bruges, and other towns in Flanders, which controlled important water communications. They then prepared to attack Oudenarde, and established a strong camp on the Dender, to cover the siege. These successes were received with great joy at Court, and gave some relief from the depression of previous disasters; they presaged well for the campaign.

The counsels of the Duke of Burgundy and of the Duke of Vendôme, however, were far from harmonious: the Duke of Burgundy several times acted contrary to the advice and wishes of Vendôme; and often nullified his plans by counter orders. On the other hand, as alleged by the Duke and his friends, the constitutional laziness of Vendôme, or possibly his disinclination to active operations which might bring a success which would redound to the credit of the young Duke, is charged to have been the occasion of bringing about another great disaster to the French arms. The

ability of Marlborough and Eugene, however, was sufficient to account for the result.

The great battle of Oudenarde was fought on the 11th July, 1708.

The French had the advantage in numbers and in position; and made so long and spirited a defence that the fortunes of the day were, at times, doubtful: but the skill of Marlborough, ably assisted by Prince Eugene, and the persistence and valor of the allied troops, at length drove the French from their positions, and coming darkness, enveloping the contending hosts, allowed the retreat of the French, although in great disorder, from the field. The Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards George II., figured prominently as a volunteer in this battle, and distinguished himself in charging at the head of a squadron.

The losses in this great battle, on either side, were about equal; but the French army having retreated during the night, and the allies having made many prisoners, there then was no real doubt as to the victory. The darkness of the night and the weariness of the allied troops prevented pursuit, so as to render the victory more decisive. The results, at least, were valuable to the allies. The French army having made a disastrous retreat to Ghent, where they entrenched themselves, the allies proceeded to besiege Lisle.

The cause of the defeat of the French, at Oudenarde, was, with abusive denunciation, ascribed by both of the French generals to the conduct of the other; their recriminations were carried to Versailles, where the Duke of Burgundy was loud in his complaints of the overweening confidence and sluggishness of action which marked the conduct of Vendôme; in which opinion many French writers have concurred.

In a letter dated July 13, 1708, the Duke of Burgundy thus wrote to Madame de Maintenon, with a view that its contents should be made known to the King: "You had good reason for apprehension, when our affairs were entrusted to the Duc de Vendôme; and there is not a dissenting voice here, on that point. I knew very well that, as to

his service as general he was a nullity—without foresight, without method, without taking pains to inform himself about the enemy, which he always affects to despise—but I supposed that he was more of a general than I found him to be, the day before yesterday.” After specifying certain features of the battle, wherein Vendôme was charged with exhibiting ignorance, blindness and stupidity, the Duke of Burgundy thus pursues his criticism. “In fine, Madame, in the conduct of the war and in battle, he is always the same—never a general—and the king makes a great mistake as to him. I am not the only one to say this—all the army speaks in the same way. He has never had the confidence of his officers—he has just lost that of his soldiers. He does nothing but eat and sleep: and, in effect, his health does not permit him to undergo fatigue, or do what is necessary for his position. Add to that the extraordinary confidence which he has that the enemy will never do that which he does not want them to do—that he never has been beaten, and never will be; which latter remark, he certainly, since the day before yesterday, can never make again. Thus you can judge of our situation!”

Immediately after the battle of Oudenarde, Marlborough began the investment of Lisle, the capital of French Flanders, a place of great strength, fortified by Vauban and the key of the country, watered by the Lys and the Scheldt. The siege of this important place excited great attention and drew to the scene many distinguished military personages—the Electoral Prince of Hanover, young Saxe, Münich, who subsequently, as Russian field marshal, desolated the Crimea, Schwerin, subsequently a field marshal of the great Frederick, and others, afterwards notable generals, then young men, who came to study the art of war, at the great siege. The place was invested on the 11th of August, by Eugene, while Marlborough conducted the covering operations, and baffled Vendôme and Berwick in their efforts at relief. After an obstinate and valorous defence, in which Boufflers exerted a skill and courage that excited admiration, the town surrendered, on the 22d of October, and after a further prolonged contest the citadel

yielded, on the 9th of December. The taking of this great fortified town in the face of a vast army of the enemy, which by skilful tactics was kept in check, gave great addition to the military reputation of Marlborough and of his famous brother-in-arms. The allies then marched on Ghent and Bruges, which they took possession of, and were gladly welcomed.

Thus terminated the extraordinary campaign of 1708, in Flanders; one in which the valor of the contending armies and the military science of their great generals had been taxed to the utmost.

The war game in the Netherlands called into action not only the tactical skill necessary to move and handle large armies, and to check and counter-check action in the field, but the arts of engineering in the conduct of great siege operations against fortified towns, the skilful reduction of powerful works, and attack and defence, by mine and counter mine, which, at the siege of Lisle, were carried on with persistent valor and scientific skill, and were attended with most destructive results to life. The English also, in this year took possession of the Island of Sardinia, and also of Port Mahon, in the Island of Minorca, a most important station for their fleet, and the best harbor in the Mediterranean. During the year 1708, the war in Italy was not remarkable in events. The Duke of Savoy captured several strong places in Savoy, and he was invested by the Emperor with parts of the Duchies of Montferrat and Milan.

The Pope, having, this year, taken sides with the French, the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, at the head of a Protestant force, took possession of Bologna, and compelled the Pope to recognize the Archduke.

In Spain the French had some success, but an English fleet compelled them to raise the siege of Barcelona, where the Archduke was besieged.

CHAPTER XVII.

The severe Winter of 1708-9, in France.—Terrible suffering and Famine.—Graphic Account of the State of France, by the Duc de St. Simon.—Indignation of the People.—Insults to the King and Nobility.—The patron Saint, St. Genevieve, appealed to.—Sacrifice of Plate and Jewels, by the Court.—France worn out by the War.—Deliberations in Council.—Despondency of Ministers.—Louis offers to withdraw his Grandson from Spain.—Villars' Statement as to the dejected Condition of the King.

STATE OF FRANCE 1708-9, AND FIRST EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

IN the midst of the drain upon the population and resources of France, caused by this prolonged war, the plague of famine appeared.

The Winter of 1708-9 was unexampled in its severity, and added materially to the embarrassments and misfortunes of France. It seemed as if the very elements conspired against her.

The Duc de St. Simon, an eye-witness, gives a graphic account of the effects of this Winter. The frost lasted nearly two months, having come suddenly on Twelfth Night. "In four days," he states, "the Seine, and all the other rivers were frozen; and, what had never been seen before, the sea froze, all along the coasts, so as to bear carts even heavily laden upon it. This frost caused the complete destruction of all kinds of vegetation. The violence of the cold was such that the strongest elixirs and the most spirituous liquors broke their bottles in cupboards of rooms with fires in them, and surrounded by chimneys. The trees and vines died, in great numbers; the gardens perished, and all the grains of the earth. It is impossible to imagine the desolation of this general ruin. Everybody held tight to his old grain; the price of bread increased in proportion to despair for the next harvest. The distress

arising from all this was, of course, great; and extraordinary edicts were promulgated, and financiers and forestallers took occasion, by exaction, to enrich themselves. Commissioners were appointed, who scoured the provinces and arbitrarily fixed the prices of corn, by force; and kept it up, to increase their own profits: all of which contributed to increase the general dreariness and poverty."

"Marechal, the king's surgeon," St. Simon continues, "had the courage and the probity to tell all these things to the King; and to state to him the sinister opinions they gave rise to, among all classes, even the most enlightened. The king appeared touched, was not offended with Marechal, but did nothing. * * * Innumerable were the people who died, literally, of hunger, and those who perished, afterwards, of the maladies caused by extreme misery. The payment, by government, of interest on its various indebtedness was also stopped or materially retrenched; which desolated nearly all the families of Paris and many others. At the same time, the taxes increased, multiplied and exacted, with the greatest rigor, completed the devastation of France. A great number of people, who, in preceding years used to relieve the poor, found themselves so poor as to be unable to subsist, without difficulty, and many of them received alms in secret. It is impossible to say how many others laid siege to the hospitals until then the shame and punishment of the poor; how many ruined hospitals revomited forth their inmates to the public charge, that is to say, sent them away to die, actually, of hunger: and many decent families shut themselves up in garrets to die of want." St. Simon winds up his terrible and dramatic account, in these words: "Nobody could any longer pay, because nobody was paid: the country people, overwhelmed with exactions and with valueless property had become insolvent; trade no longer yielded anything; good faith and confidence were at an end. Thus, the King had no resources except in terror and in his unlimited power; which, boundless as it was, failed also for want of something to take and exercise itself upon. There was no more circulation—no means of re-establishing it. All was perish-

ing—step by step—the realm was entirely exhausted; the troops, even, were not paid; although no one could imagine what was done with the millions that came into the King's coffers. The unfed soldiers, disheartened, too, at being so badly commanded, were always unsuccessful: there was no capacity in generals or ministers—no appointment, except by whim or intrigue. Nothing was punished—nothing examined—there was equal impotence to sustain the war and bring about peace—all suffered—yet none dared put the hand to this arch, tottering as it was, and ready to fall. This was the frightful state to which we were reduced when envoys were sent into Holland to try and bring about a peace. * * * Meanwhile the money was recoined; and its increase to a third more than its intrinsic value, brought some profit to the King, but ruin to private people, and a disorder to trade, which completed its annihilation.”

Verily, we may conclude, after reading this account, which, St. Simon says, was exact, faithful, and not overcharged, the time of Retribution was at hand! *The Nemesis had appeared!*

The effect of all this on the minds of the suffering people was terrible; pamphlets and squibs were issued innumerable, at the risk even of a death penalty, denouncing the ambitious Monarch, his character, his conduct, his morals and his government. Placards were placed even upon his statues, and on doors of churches and public buildings, arraiging the king and government. Cries for “Bread,” were shouted in the streets, and even under the windows of Versailles—ministers, generals, and even the Dauphin were mobbed in the streets—the Duke of Burgundy was hooted at and threatened, and armed revolts occurred in Paris and several of the Provinces. In the mean while St. Genevieve, the patron saint of Paris, was brought to the front, to give succor, when even direct appeals to Heaven had failed—she, that was never called upon except in cases of dire calamity! Her statue was carried, in solemn procession, through the streets; and invocations went up to the Sacred lady to give succor to her beloved city. She it was—when king and minister and general had ceased to be efficacious, that

could surely protect the most Christian realm. Even she, however, gave no aid. A more practical sacrifice was also made at this time of gold and silver plate, jewels and precious things by the King and nobility to fill the exhausted treasury and keep up the sinews of war. The King, the Princes, Madame de Maintenon and some others of the great personages having set the fashion, it was followed, of course, by all courtiers, although the operation caused no little grumbling, and the mint and the royal goldsmiths did not show a return of any great account.

After this terrible winter, in the Spring of 1709, France, as it may be supposed, was in a deplorable condition.

The misfortune of war had dispirited, alike, king and people ; and the horrors of famine and the rigors of a Winter of such extraordinary inclemency had carried death and misery to every class ; for even the gentry and many of the nobility were suffering from actual want. France seemed completely worn out—conscriptions had denuded the country of its laborers—the peasantry were dragged unwillingly to the war—often in chains—and brigands and outlaws were freely enlisted, and paraded before the humiliated King.

All peace negotiations, too, as it will be seen, had failed. The allies, and especially the Emperor, were implacable ; and nothing less than an invasion into France and its entire subjection seemed probable.

Such was the condition of France—of that great Kingdom, whose Monarch, a few years back, had made all the sceptres of Europe tremble—her finances ruined—her public credit gone—the land exhausted—the people beggared and dying of famine—her armies discouraged by terrible defeats—her veteran troops destroyed—her fortresses taken—her provinces in revolt—her integrity threatened, and her inveterate enemies, the hated English and the long despised Dutch, instigated by the “bourgeois” Heinsius, were menacing her with utter annihilation.*

It is stated that, at the Council of State, held at Ver-

* All this formed a strong contrast with the period of exultation of 1673, when such verses as the following doggerel illustrated the prevalent tone throughout the kingdom :

sailles, to consider the condition of the nation, the Duke of Beauvilliers gave such a touching picture of the state to which France was reduced, that the Duke of Burgundy and all the Council were in tears. The Chancellor, Pontchartrain, gave, as his advice, to make peace, on any terms which might be allowed. The Ministers of War and Finance admitted that they were entirely without resources. "So mournful a scene," says the Marquis de Torcy, "would be difficult to describe, even if it were permitted to reveal the secret of that which was most touching—this secret was nothing but that tears ran freely."

And now, he who had been a dictator to Europe, whose glory had been represented as a halo encircling the head of a divinity, and who was styled on his medals "the perpetual conqueror!"—without ally, and without resources, in bemoaning his fate, while reciting his failures, although actually begging for peace, exclaimed, with tears in his eyes, in open Council, "I am unable now either to make war or peace!"

Louis, now, seriously thought of withdrawing his troops from Spain, and giving up the great struggle to maintain his grandson there. The state of France required it. He felt that, as the Father and Protector of his own Subjects, their interest was paramount—that all France was being ruined—and that peace at any cost was a stern necessity. In the terms of peace now proffered by France, Louis even went so far as to offer subsidies to the allies to aid them in removing Philip; and Prince Eugene had such assurance of the power of the allies and the weakness of France, as to draw up a plan for the dismemberment of the French dominions.

" Il prend, en un jour, Lorraine ;
La Bourgogne en une semaine ;
La Hollande en un mois
S'il fait la guerre, un an,
Quels seront ses exploits ? "

A contrast too with 1697, when a medal was struck in France, on which was the profile of Louis and the legend "to the perpetual conqueror!"

Villars says, in his memoirs, that “the king sighed for peace—he was now depressed by the maladies of old age, and his heart had lost its courage—his ambition had received a blow, and his hopes of glory had vanished. France was assailed along its entire frontier, with no other ally but Spain, which, instead of being of aid, was a burthen—the navy had been annihilated, in successive defeats. Commerce was destroyed by the hostile fleets—the treasury was empty, the troops, discouraged and unpaid and badly clothed, were dying of hunger—the arsenals were empty, and there was a general scarcity of food.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

First Overtures for Peace.—Louis' Efforts in 1705.—Action by the Elector of Bavaria, 1706.—Negotiations at Moerdyk and Bodegrave, in 1709.—Negotiations at the Hague, by the Marquis de Torcy.—Opposition to Peace by the Dutch.—Preliminary Articles drawn.—Louis rejects the Preliminaries and resolves to continue the War.—Louis' instructions to De Torcy, as to bribing Marlborough.—Marshal Villars' encouraging Letter to De Torcy.—Louis' Letter to Villars, and spirited Manifesto to his Subjects.—Philip's Letter to Louis as to his Proposed Removal.

FIRST OVERTURES FOR PEACE.

THE King of France had, for some time, perceived that the contest in which he was engaged was a very serious affair, and that, instead of being, as in former days, a war of conquest, on his part, against States with various interests, the determined spirit and firm accord of the allies was imperilling the very existence of France; and that if he did not make peace soon, he might have to make it on terms most humiliating to himself and his country.

Louis had, indeed, undertaken a task, far beyond the resources and strength of France.

During her wars in the previous century, she was compact, and had only her own frontiers to defend. She acted on the aggressive, when and where she chose, and retired her forces, at will, safely within her borders.

Now, she had to defend, besides her own territory, the Spanish Peninsula, the possessions of Spain in the Netherlands, in Italy and in the Mediterranean, and to contend in the field against the allied powers of England, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Savoy, and Portugal; far, at times, from her own territory; and, moreover, against forces spread through a region extending from the North Sea to Sicily and Gibraltar.

War was with him, now, a different game than when

Mons and Namur were taken, in an off-hand way, in 1692-93; when the Monarch in person capered, on his docile steed, before the bright array of troops shouting in his homage, until the gout made him descend, for repose, to his gilded tent. The taking of towns and the slaughter of the defenders of their homes was no longer a splendid diversion, for an applauding court.

The gay courtiers, the jewelled women, the dillettanté *militaires*, the gilded coaches, the cooks, the valets, the players and the singers—the Asiatic splendor, and the grand Monarch, himself, had all disappeared from the scene, under the stern realities of the hour.

The first approaches to peace were secretly made to Holland, as early as the year 1705; and intimations were given out of a character to raise the apprehension of the Dutch, as to the designs of Austria, with a view to detach them from the alliance.

These negotiations were renewed, after the battle of Ramillies; but Holland placed no confidence in the representations of Louis, whose aim seemed to be, as formerly, to disunite the allies, for his own purposes. Special overtures for peace were made subsequently, by the Elector of Bavaria, at the instigation of the King of France, which, at first, were of a private and secret character; and were viewed with suspicion by the English, who also suspected, in them, a *ruse* to disunite the allies.

The Elector of Bavaria, seeing these acts misunderstood, and, acting for himself as well as for Louis, thereupon proposed to the Duke of Marlborough and to the Deputies of the Dutch States, then in the field, a conference and a temporary stoppage of hostilities. The proposal was made in October, 1706; but the Dutch States declined to treat, except on more distinct proposals, and determined to do nothing without the assent of their Allies, nor without some action by the English. They also required, as a *sine qua non*, the cession of Spain and the Indies to Austria. The English refused to treat in a general conference, unless it were preceded by specific proposals.

The Pope, too, interested himself, in endeavoring to

bring about a Peace ; and Louis was willing to submit to his consideration his proposed concessions to Austria and Holland, in detail ; in order that his Holiness might duly act in the matter. In a missive to the Pope, of February 15, 1707, the King of France expressed his willingness to give up part of the Spanish dominions to the Archduke, and to permanently establish a barrier for Holland.

NEGOTIATIONS AT MOERDYK.

Finally, in order to forward a peace, which Louis now deemed a necessity, not only for the good of his people, but for the preservation of his Crown, negotiations were opened by him with the Dutch, early in the year 1709, at Moerdyk, and subsequently continued at Bodegrave, the object being to gain over, at least, one of the parties to the Alliance.

In these negotiations, England took but little part ; they were mainly directed towards Holland. Proposals most favorable to that country were made ; with reference, particularly, to the barrier, and to commercial advantages, which, it was supposed, would incline the Dutch officials, always having an eye to trade, to listen favorably to overtures for Peace.

But the Dutch, with every more favorable proposition, became more exacting, and finally made exorbitant claims ; and, indeed, showed a disposition not to treat on any terms, short of the complete humiliation of France, including the deprivation of the Bourbons of all share in any part of the Spanish dominions. Marlborough, at this time, was not disinclined to peace on advantageous terms, although, it has been generally supposed, that he, as well as Prince Eugene, lent all their influence for the continuance of the war. Perceiving that France was almost at its last gasp, they might naturally desire to pursue a war which was giving them increased reputation, and which, if it were continued to an end that would entirely humiliate France, would yield them, not only increased renown but perhaps principalities and dominions in the prostrate kingdom.

Louis, however, although humiliated by the arrogant tone of the Dutch and humbled in his pride, as he realized the contrast between his relations with them now and what they had been in 1672, directed his agents, by despatch, to cede Spain and its possessions to the House of Austria, reserving only Naples and Sicily, for his grandson ; and also to stipulate that James, the Pretender, should be compelled to quit France.

Other terms favorable to the Allies were also proffered.

FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS AT THE HAGUE.

All these efforts at Peace, however, were abortive ; and the Dutch, refusing to come to terms, another effort was made by France, and the Marquis de Torcy, the Minister of foreign affairs, on the part of Louis, passed, at no little personal risk, through the enemy's country and entered into new negotiations at the Hague ; hastening action, so as to anticipate a new campaign at arms, for which the allies were making active preparations.

The presence of so important a personage as the French Minister of foreign affairs, at the Hague, gave these proposals for peace a new importance and impulse, and manifested an earnest desire, on the part of Louis, for permanent Peace, on any terms.

De Torcy was an experienced diplomatist and a man of high position and character, and Louis relied much on his intelligence and capacity to extricate France, with honor, from her critical position. M. de Torcy's object was, not only, at even great sacrifices, to establish preliminaries for a Peace, but to endeavor to ascertain the real intentions of Holland and the sentiments that actuated the Allies of the Emperor, in prolonging the war ; and to discover, if possible, how far, at great expenditure of men and money to themselves, they were willing to prolong hostilities, apparently, for the sole benefit of the House of Austria.

These new negotiations were carried on by M. de Torcy, aided by M. Rouillé (the former French agent), with Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary, and with the two Commis-

sioners who had been appointed by the States General, to treat for Peace, during the previous year. Marlborough and Prince Eugene subsequently entered into the conferences; but they operated rather in check than in furtherance of any definite results.

The Dutch deputies still insisted on the relinquishment, by the King of Spain, of all his dominions, including Naples and Sicily, and that the Allies were bound, in honor, to obtain for the Archduke the entire Spanish dominions, and also the cession of Strasburg and Alsace.

France, also, was to cede to the Dutch, Cassel, Lisle, Maubeuge, Tournai, Condé, and other places in French Flanders and Hainault.

Under date of May 14, 1709, M. de Torcy thus wrote to Louis from the Hague: "The idea that they have in Holland of the condition of our affairs causes singular effects; and those who are suffering from the war, in this country, forget their troubles in the hope that they have to overwhelm France, which they believe they cannot too deeply humiliate, in order to ensure their own repose."

The conferences being unduly prolonged, and no hope of any settlement apparent, M. de Torcy offered, on the part of Louis, to abandon his claims, even for Naples and Sicily, for the King's grandson.

At last, towards the end of May, 1709, certain preliminary articles or propositions were framed; but De Torcy left the Hague, with little idea that the proposals would be accepted by his King. It is related, that when De Torcy signed these preliminaries, he broke out with the exclamation, "Would Colbert have signed such a treaty for France?" On which, a Minister present, responded, "Colbert himself would have been pleased to have saved France, in these circumstances, on such terms."

By the terms of these Preliminary articles, the Archduke Charles was to be recognized, as Charles III. King of Spain and its dominions; and the new monarch, Philip V., was to immediately evacuate the country, with his wife and children; and the monarchy of Spain was to be transferred entire to the House of Austria. Within two months, also,

France was to release and deliver to the Emperor, Strasburg, Brisach, Landau, the Fort of Kehl, and, to a specified extent, Alsace, with all stores of war in the above mentioned places. To the United Provinces were to be ceded, as a barrier, specified towns and strong places in the Spanish Netherlands, with all their stores and war material: and to England was to be made the concession of an acknowledgment of the Protestant succession.

The propositions contained also a condition, that no Prince of the House of France should ever succeed to the throne of Spain, or have any part of the Spanish dominions. This provision would have excluded, not only all the then French Princes of royal blood, but all branches of the Bourbon family, however remote.

This was a new and severe condition, dictated by hatred and jealousy on the part of Austria, which thus tried to prevent all future alliance and amity between Spain and Austria's great rival, France.

A condition most humiliating to France was also contained in the preliminaries, to the effect that, in case the reigning King and his family did not leave Spain, within the period of two months, from the first of June then next, *the King of France should assist in removing him*. In case of the removal of the King of Spain, as above, the cessation of hostilities was to become permanent and final treaties of peace were to be ratified.

It was also demanded that France was never to become possessed of the Spanish Indies, nor send ships there, to exercise commerce, under any *pretext whatsoever*.

France also was to destroy her fortified places on the Rhine; and the fortifications and harbor of Dunkirk.

The allies, dazzled and emboldened by their successes, while France was seen to be humbled and disheartened, demanded that these preliminaries should be accepted, if at all, during the period of an armistice, of two months, from June 1st then next—in default of which, hostilities were to be renewed.

Louis saw, in these exacting proposals, an indisposition to make peace, on any terms; while they were so devised

that, through the proposed truce, the allies might have time to strengthen themselves in Flanders, and occupy the strong towns which they, doubtless, intended to retain, whether peace was concluded or not.

Without hesitation as to his course, he recalled his agents from the Hague, revoked his overtures for peace, and Marshal Villars was directed to strengthen and collect his army at Douay, which, during the negotiations, he had kept inactive.

The failure to conclude the peace caused much comment and discontent both in England and Holland. The proposals which might have been carried out were most favorable to those countries; and the enemies of Marlborough began to denounce him as a man who preferred the interests of the Allies to those of England.

During his negotiations at the Hague, De Torcy had many colloquies with Marlborough and Prince Eugene, who, he plainly saw, were the great impediments in his way towards peace. The former, in a general way, had indicated a disposition to make terms, and treated the French Ambassador with great politeness and affability. His efforts in a direction contrary to peace, had been so manifest, however, and his influence was considered so desirable that (from a supposition of his fondness for money) efforts to bribe him, in favor of peace, were made by directions of the French Court. "I do not doubt," writes Louis, in a despatch to De Torcy, in May, 1709, "but that you will profit of all occasions that you will have to see the Duke of Marlborough, in order to let him understand that I have been informed of the steps he has taken in order to prevent the progress of the conferences for peace, and even to break them up; that I have been the more surprised in that I had reason to believe, after the assurances *he had given me, that he wished to contribute to it,* and I would have been glad if he had acquired the *reward that I promised him by his conduct in that regard.* And, in order to put you in a condition to explain this matter, more clearly, to him, I will now give you my express direction, that I will remit him two millions of livres, if he can con-

tribute, by his efforts, to obtain for me, one of the following conditions, viz.: The reservation of Naples and Sicily for the king, my grandson; or, at least, the reservation of Naples, at all cost. I will make him the same gratification for Dunkirk retained under my power, with its fort and fortifications; without the reservation of Naples and Sicily. The same gratification for the simple preservation of Strasburg, the fort of Kehl excepted, which I will restore to the Empire, in the condition it was in when I conquered it, and this, without the reservation of either Naples or Sicily. But of all these different plans, the reservation of Naples is what I prefer. I will consent to raise this gratification to 3,000,000, if he will contribute to the reservation of Naples, and preserve for me Dunkirk and its fortifications and port. If I were obliged to yield, on the article of Dunkirk, I would give him the above sum if he can procure the reservation of Naples and the preservation of Strasburg, in the manner I have explained; and Landau with its forts in exchange for Brisach. Or, again, if he can procure for me Strasburg and Dunkirk in their present state. If you cannot do better, I am willing that you offer the Duke of Marlborough as high as 4,000,000, if he will bring about the obtaining of Naples and Sicily, for the king, my grandson, and the retention of Dunkirk, its fortifications and port, and Strasburg and Landau in the manner I have explained; or indeed, the *same sum*, even if Sicily were excepted from this Article!" These attempts to influence the Duke of Marlborough were evidently without success; and so far as has been ascertained, were without the slightest effect. Perhaps History, might, with plausibility, although she might not with justice, gauge the character, or at least measure the then reputation of the Duke, by the fact of this great effort to bribe him being made. It was an attack upon his character and honor of the most flagrant description, and one which he does not appear to have resented. It was, at any rate, exposing the weakness of France in a remarkable degree:—a deduction which would be apparent to a mind much less astute than that of Marlborough, and one, probably, which was of service to

him in his future operations. No attack of a similar kind seems to have been made on Heinsius, whose antecedents did not expose him to such approaches, and whose hostility to France was even more bitter and persistent than that of Marlborough.

To give some confidence to M. de Torcy, in his negotiations, and to counteract the impressions sought to be made by the allies as to their power to dictate terms, Marshal Villars wrote to De Torcy, during the negotiations, a letter somewhat encouraging; an extract of which is as follows: "I learn that our enemies are very confident, on the false opinion that the armies of the king are not in condition to enter into a campaign. I think it my duty to write you the exact truth; and I make no scruple in telling you that the ranks are more complete than they have ever yet been. You will be told perhaps that this is the good effect of a bad cause, and that the recruits are only numerous, through the misery of the provinces. I will not go into details about that, but, the fact is, that our ranks are very full, and our soldiers have a great desire to show the enemy that they are in good heart for fighting, under fair conditions. If success has not followed our efforts, in the last campaigns, I attribute much of it to the Aides-de-Camp, who did not properly distribute the orders of commanders. * * * As to grain, enough has been found in the Provinces, for our supply. * * * I assure you, very sincerely, that whenever I review our troops, then I ardently desire that they may again meet the enemy. When I think of our French people, I can well understand that they long for peace—but the glory and the interests of the nation will be sure to arrive at it, by and by, and a better one than is now offered."

This was rather a roseate view; for the troops then were half starved.

In June, 1709, Louis thus wrote to the Marquis de Villars, so that he might no longer remain inactive: "You were right in supposing that it would be impossible for me to accept conditions which would only give a suspension of arms for two months, and which would put me in the neces-

sity to join myself to my enemies, in order to dethrone the King of Spain ; or to recommence the war with them, after having put them in possession of the strongest places on the frontier, and which they would have difficulty in taking, if I could find means to feed and pay my own troops. I have instructed M. Rouillé to declare that I will not accept the propositions that have been made, and that I revoke all the offers that the Marquis de Torcy may have made, in my behalf."

The King of France therefore, with much spirit, disdainfully refused to accede to the terms offered by the Allies, involving as they did not only a concession of all he had gained by the war, not only the loss of all his political and military advantages for the last forty years, but the driving of his grandson from a monarchy, where he was reigning, not only by a legitimate right, but by the consent of the people.

Louis, accordingly, made renewed efforts for the continuance of the war ; and issued a spirited and dignified manifesto to the French people, giving his reasons for refusing peace, rehearsing the odious exactions of his enemies, and appealing to his subjects to assist him, in saving the honor of France, and calling them to battle for the very existence of the kingdom.

In this circular manifesto Louis thus, in part, addresses his subjects : " The more I have testified my willingness to remove the alleged apprehensions of my enemies, as to my designs, and the extension of my power, the more do they add to their pretensions, so that, through adding, by degrees, new demands to their original ones, and making use of the name of the Duke of Savoy, or of the interests of the Princes of the Empire, they have led me to understand that their intention was only to gain strength for themselves in the States bordering my dominions, at the expense of my Crown ; and to open, for themselves, an easy path to penetrate into the interior of my kingdom at any time it might suit their interests to undertake a new war. But, although my tenderness for my people is not less strong than that which I have for my children ; although I

share in all the evil that the war inflicts on such faithful subjects, and that I have shown all Europe that I sincerely desired them to enjoy peace, I am persuaded that they would oppose themselves to conditions so contrary to justice and the honor of Frenchmen."

This address had a great effect in arousing the French to new sacrifices and exertions. Still feeling, however, that efforts for peace, in justice to his subjects, should not cease, exertions towards such a result were still kept up, by the King.

PHILIP'S DETERMINATION TO REMAIN.

The principal point of objection to the former preliminaries was that the evacuation and cession of the Spanish dominions should take effect within two months, or that the treaty should be not carried out.

This Louis looked upon as an impossible condition for him to undertake, particularly, as the Spaniards and their king were valiantly fighting to sustain themselves, and the young king absolutely refused to yield his dominions.

Philip V. had indignantly scouted the propositions of the Allies, and proclaimed that he would never leave Spain, alive.

When the matter of his removal had been first agitated he had written as follows to his grandfather. This letter was dated on November 5, 1708: "I was astounded with what you write to M. Amelot, (the French minister,) of the chimerical and insolent pretensions of the English and Hollanders, as preliminaries of peace. Such terms are unheard of, and I cannot even think that you can listen to them; you, who by your actions, have made yourself the most glorious King in the world! But, I feel outraged that any one could imagine that I can be obliged to leave Spain, while I have a drop of blood in my veins. The blood that runs there is not capable of sustaining such an affront. I will make every effort to maintain myself on a throne where God has placed me, and where, after Him, you have placed me; and nothing *can drag me from it, nor make me yield it, but Death itself!*"

CHAPTER XIX.

The War in 1709.—Active Preparations by France and the Allies.—Operations on the Rhine.—The terrible Battle of *Malplaquet*.—Detailed Description of the Battle.

THE WAR, 1709.

WHILE these negotiations had been going on, great preparations had been made by the Allies, in order to press their advantages, so as to conquer a final peace; and to so humiliate and weaken France that she might never again be a disturbing power in Europe.

The spirit of the French king and his chivalric nobility, however, was still extant, and his valiant generals and soldiers were not entirely disheartened. Active preparations were made in all the frontier provinces to collect supplies for the troops. Forces were gathered from all quarters of the kingdom, in order to put a formidable army in the field; and vigorous recruiting and impressing so swelled the depleted ranks, that Villars, appointed to the chief command, found himself at the head of an army in Flanders, little inferior to that of the Allies.

On the Rhine the French defeated the Germans at Rumsheim, and prevented the Elector of Hanover from forming a junction with the Duke of Savoy in Franche-Comté, which he had undertaken, with a view to drive the French out of that province.

In the Netherlands, the Allies had concentrated a large force of 110,000 men; and, after skilful tactics, by which they out-manceuvred Villars, they besieged and took Tournay, and then laid siege to Mons, which Villars sought to relieve, with a large army, and fortified himself near Malplaquet.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene subsequently attacked Villars in his intrenchments, and the most bloody and obstinately contested battle of the war ensued,

—fought on Sept. 11, 1709; in which, although the Allies lost upwards of 20,000 killed or wounded, they caused Villars to retreat, and Mons was taken.

Although it is no part of the design of this historical review to describe, in detail, the military operations of the war, yet it may not be out of place to give an extended account of the great battle of Malplaquet,* as illustrating the terrible nature of the engagements between great armies at this period, and as particularly showing the gallant fighting qualities of the soldiers to whom Marlborough was opposed during his campaigns, as well as the persistent valor of the troops he commanded.

BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.

“As the morning of the eventful 11th of September began to dawn, a mist overspread the woods, and concealed the armies from each other. In the camp of the allies divine service was solemnly performed at three in the morning, with the usual marks of devotion, after the example of their chief; silence and order reigned through all the ranks, as they steadily marched from the bivouac to their posts. Under cover of the fog, the pieces composing the grand battery of the centre were conveyed to the appointed spot, and covered with an epaulement, to prevent an *enfilade*, while the Dutch likewise moved forward their heavy guns on the left.

“The grand guard of the enemy giving instant notice that the Allies were making their dispositions for the attack, the French soldiers discontinued working at the intrenchments, and stood to their arms. The troops on both sides,

* This precise account of the great battle was compiled by Archdeacon Coxe and his late editors, after careful consultation of many authorities, the most important of which were Quincy's great work on the battles during the reign of Louis XIV., the historical memoirs of Lamberti, the lives of Villars and Prince Eugene, “Life of Marlborough,” written by order of Buonaparte, Milner's “Journal of Marches and Battles,” Broderick's “History of the Late War,” “Military History of Great Britain,” “Chronologie Historique et Militaire,” and “Commentaires de Folard.” There were over thirty other works consulted.

though harassed by fatigue and want of rest, manifested no diminution of their usual spirit, at the approach of this long-expected engagement. The French gave signal proofs of unbounded confidence in their new general, whom they adored, and in whose abilities they confided. Eight campaigns had been successively marked with disasters; all their former leaders had seen their laurels wither before the two great opponents, and the formidable troops that now stood arrayed in their front; yet, no sooner was the command entrusted to this favorite chief, than their defeats were forgotten, and they resumed their national ardor, which they testified, as he rode along the ranks, by exclaiming, 'Vive le Roi, vive le Maréchal Villars!' Many of the soldiers, though ill supplied with provisions for several days, even threw away their rations of bread, in their eagerness to begin the engagement. At seven, Villars mounted his horse, and requested Marshal Boufflers to assume the command of the right wing, while he himself superintended the movements of the left.

"In the allied camps the national character of the troops was more sedately expressed, by the punctuality of obedience, by the stern frown or contemptuous sarcasm, and by the general exclamation, in allusion to the French intrenchments, 'that they were again obliged to make war upon moles!' The whole army was in readiness to advance before dawn. The commanders-in-chief, with the prince royal of Prussia, and the deputy Goslinga, surveyed the execution of the preparatory dispositions, in every part of the field.

"The fog still lingering on the ground, protracted the moment of onset; but, at half-past seven, the sun broke forth, and as soon as the artillery could point with precision, the fire opened on both sides, with an animation and effect indicative of the ardor which reigned in every bosom. In a moment, the French household troops in the rear of the lines, had several killed and wounded, and the allied chiefs witnessed similar effects as they rode along their own ranks, although the two armies were almost concealed from each other, by the intrenchments and inequalities of the

ground. Soon after the opening of the cannonade, Villars and Boufflers repaired to their respective posts; and the two confederate generals also separated—Eugene to direct the movements of the right, and Marlborough those of the centre and left.

“The attack commenced on the side of the allies, against the right and centre of the French, in two dense columns; the first under the Prince of Orange, and the other under Count Lottum. Suddenly the Dutch column halted, according to orders, and drew up in several lines beyond the reach of grape; while that of Lottum moved forward regardless of the fire, to the rear of the principal allied battery, and, wheeling to the right, formed in three lines. As these columns took their stations, Schulemberg advanced at the head of 40 battalions, ranged in three lines.

“After a short pause in the cannonade, the signal of onset was given, at nine, by a general volley from the grand battery. Schulemberg instantly advanced along the edge of the wood of Sart, direct upon the projecting point of the enemy’s left wing; while Lottum marched around the grand battery, to attack the other face of the angle; and as he cleared the ground, Lord Orkney deployed his fifteen battalions to cover his left, and face the hostile centre. The three battalions, drawn from the blockading corps before Mons, likewise pressed forward, under the orders of Gauvain, and entered the wood of Sart unperceived. At this moment, Eugene came up to the troops of Schulemberg, and found them passing several streamlets, and entering the wood. They were suffered by the enemy to approach within pistol shot, and then received a volley which forced several battalions to recoil, more than 200 yards. A furious storm of musketry ensued, and the French brigade of Charost, being partly advanced in an *abatis*, was either driven from its station, or withdrew, to avoid a flank attack. The Austrian battalions on the right, being impeded by a morass in front, made a circuitous movement, and fell in with the brigade of Gauvain. These corps, thus fortuitously united, began to penetrate into the wood, as fast as the obstructions which they encountered would permit,

but were checked by the troops of Charost, and exchanged a vigorous fire of musketry with the enemy. Scarcely was this attack begun, before Marlborough, advancing towards the centre, led on in person the troops of Count Lottum. At some distance they were greeted by volleys of musketry from the brigade Du Roi, without shaking the firmness of their ranks; they passed some inclosures, descended the hollow bank of the rivulet, and waded through the swamp under a galling fire. Reaching the foot of the intrenchment, though disordered by the difficulty of the approach, and the loss they had sustained, they made the most furious effort to ascend the breastwork, but were repulsed by the French troops, who were encouraged by the presence of Villars himself. Meanwhile, Withers advanced in silence through the woods, in the direction of La Folie, and by this demonstration distracted the attention of the enemy; but as yet not a single shot was fired on that side. Both the first lines of attack, on the right, having suffered severely, Eugene and Schulemberg filled up the intervals, and extended the flanks with part of the second; they then advanced again and dislodged the brigades of La Reine and Charost, but could not force those of Picardie and La Marine, notwithstanding the great exertions of the Danes, Saxons and Hessians. Count Lottum now returned to the attack, while Marlborough placed himself at the head of D'Auvergne's cavalry to sustain him. At this moment the Duke of Argyle ordered a British brigade of the second line to extend the left, and the whole renewed the charge. As the attacks embraced a wider front this fresh brigade came opposite an opening in the intrenchments; but the access was through a marshy spot, almost impassable. While they were entangled in the swamp, the active Chemerault, with twelve battalions, drawn from the second line of the French left centre, passed the intrenchments, and prepared to charge their left flank. But Villars, who was on the border of the wood, remarking Marlborough with his staff at the head of D'Auvergne's cavalry, galloped forward, and stopped them at the moment when their farther advance would have been fatal. Free on the flank, the left

of Count Lottum then penetrated the intrenchment, turned the right of the brigade Du Roi, and forced the French gradually back in the wood. The brigades of Champagne and Picardie, pressed by the double assault of Schulemberg on one side, and of Lottum on the other, found a momentary asylum behind an *abatis*; and the Royal Marine, after a vigorous stand, was compelled to follow their example. The rest retreated in disorder through the wood, which was so close, that the lines were broken into parties, and every tree was disputed. Meanwhile the appointed half-hour of the first onset had elapsed, when the Prince of Orange, impatient of delay, resolved to attack, although not supported by the corps of Withers, and without waiting the consent of Marshal Tilly. In obedience to the particular disposition issued the preceding evening, the left of the whole front was led by Major-general Hamilton, and Brigadier Douglas, with four battalions, among whom was the Scottish brigade, in four lines, with orders to enter the wood and attack the grenadiers, who covered the right flank of the enemy. Nine battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-generals Spaar and Oxenstiern, were to advance against the salient angle of the intrenchment next the wood; and to the right of these, six battalions, in three lines, led by Lieutenant-generals Dohna and Heyden, were to carry the battery on the road to Malplaquet. Generals Welderen and Rauk, with four battalions, in two lines, received directions to skirt the hedges of Bleron, and force the intrenchment to the right of the battery. Beyond these in the enclosures of Bleron, seven battalions, part of which had been destined at first to act defensively under Major-generals Pallant and Ammama, were now to advance in three lines, and attack the point of the projecting intrenchment, defended by the brigades of Laonois and Alsace.

“The whole was supported by the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel, with twenty-one squadrons, in two lines, and preceded by the cannon allotted to that corps. A few squadrons remained between Aulnoit and the farm of Nivergies, to observe the opening in rear of the left. On the word to march, all were instantly in motion, led on by

the aspiring Prince of Orange, at the head of the first nine battalions, under a tremendous shower of grape and musketry. He had scarcely advanced a few paces, when the brave Oxenstiern was killed by his side, and several aides-de-camp and attendants successively dropped as he advanced. His own horse being killed, he rushed forward on foot ; and as he passed the opening of the great flanking battery, whole ranks were swept away ; yet he reached the intrenchment, and, waving his hat, in an instant the breastwork was forced at the point of the bayonet, by the Dutch guards and highlanders. But, before they could deploy, they were driven from the post by an impetuous charge from the troops of the French left, who had been rallied by Marshal Boufflers. At this moment the corps, under Dohna, moved gallantly against the battery on the road, penetrated into the embrasures, and took some colors : but ere they reached the front of the breastwork, were mowed down by the battery on their flank. A dreadful carnage took place among all the troops in this concerted attack ; Spaar lay dead upon the field, Hamilton was carried off wounded, and the lines, beginning to waver, recoiled a few paces. Deriving fresh spirit from this repulse, the heroic Prince of Orange mounted another horse, and when that was shot under him, his native energy was not shaken ; he rallied the nearest troops, took a standard from the regiment of Mey, and marching on foot almost alone to the intrenchment, he planted the colors on the bank, and called aloud, ‘ Follow me, my friends ; here is your post.’ Foremost among the assailants was the heir of Athol, the gallant Marquis of Tullibardine, followed by his faithful highlanders ; he sought honor in a foreign service and died the death of heroes. Lieutenant-general Week shared his glorious fate, and the Swiss brigadier Mey was severely wounded. Again the onset was renewed, but it was no longer possible to force the enemy ; for their second line had closed up, and the whole breastwork bristled with bayonets and blazed with fire. The brigade of Navarre, which had been sent to re-enforce the centre, was recalled ; and the French soldiers, disregarding the control of their offi-

cers, opened the intrenchment, and made a furious charge. The disordered ranks of the Dutch battalions were beat back, over heaps of slain companions ; they lost several colors, and their advanced battery fell into the hands of the French. In this moment of confusion, though pursued by the horse grenadiers, whom Boufflers had sent forward to improve the advantage, they (the Dutch) presented so firm a front as to awe their assailants, and were supported by the Prince of Hesse and his brave squadrons. In these attacks near two thousand men were killed ; and the number of wounded was still greater ; two battalions of blue guards being nearly annihilated.

“ In the midst of the conflict, Baron Fagel led on the seven battalions under Lieutenant-general Pallant, to storm the projecting intrenchment, near the farm of Bleron, through the enclosures which covered the front. Notwithstanding a heavy fire, they reached the breastwork, and drove the brigade of Laonois from the parapet ; till meeting with an obstinate resistance from the veteran Brigadier Steckemberg and his valiant corps, they were compelled to relinquish the post. During this unequal conflict, Goslinga had led on the troops with unexampled courage, and witnessing the danger of his gallant countrymen, galloped toward the right, to demand assistance. Meeting Lieutenant-general Rantzau, who, with four battalions of Hanoverians, was posted on the edge of the rivulet near the wood of Tiry, he represented to him the critical situation of the Dutch ; and when the general stated his positive instructions not to move without orders, he extorted, after much importunity, a re-enforcement of two battalions.

“ While the deputy, not satisfied with this relief, hastened across the field in search of Marlborough, the attack on the left was renewed with the aid of this re-enforcement, and the intrenchment carried ; but, mowed down as before by grape shot, and charged by Steckemberg, the assailants were again repulsed with prodigious loss. All the Hanoverian officers, except three, were killed or wounded, and the French maintained their post, though with the sacrifice

of their best soldiers, and among others, of their veteran chief, who here closed his long and honorable career.

"In this anxious crisis, Goslinga met Marlborough, who, leaving Lottum to continue his successful attack, was himself hastening to remedy the disorder on the left. As they rode together to join the Prince of Orange, the duke perceived that Rantzau with his two battalions had attacked a party of the enemy, who quitted the intrenchment to occupy an advanced ravine. He likewise remarked the shattered remains of the Dutch infantry reluctantly measuring back their steps to the first enclosures beyond the reach of grape shot. He accordingly ordered Rantzau to retire to his former post, and not to move again till he should receive directions from himself.

"With a heavy heart he beheld many victims of inconsiderate valor, and witnessed, with equal concern and admiration, numbers of the wounded Dutch returning from the hands of the surgeons, to resume their station in the ranks. Here he was joined by Eugene, bending likewise his course to the left with no less solicitude. While they were giving precautionary orders to that wing, a British officer arrived from the right, to inform them that the enemy were attacking, in turn, with great fury and evident advantage. During this time, Villars had ineffectually summoned re-enforcements from his right; for Boufflers was too much weakened, even by his successful resistance, to detach a part of his infantry. Thus reduced to the necessity of drawing troops from his own centre, he reluctantly called the Irish brigade and that of Bretagne to his assistance, and was soon afterwards joined by the brigade of La Sarre. With the aid of these and other re-enforcements, a furious charge was made into the wood of Taisniere upon the British and Prussians, who recoiled a considerable way before the impetuous onset of the Irish. But the nature of the spot upon which they fought soon divided their ranks and retarded their progress.

"At this moment, the allied troops were cheered by the return of Marlborough, who, on the intelligence of their critical situation, again hastened to the right of his centre,

to co-operate with the attack from the army of Eugene. Meanwhile Schulemberg, having forced his way round the marsh, pushed the enemy gradually before him; and from the thickness of the wood, the fight became rather a multiplicity of skirmishes and single combats than a regular engagement; the sight of the contending parties being impeded by a thick foliage and a dense atmosphere of smoke.

“The troops of the right were also animated by the return of Eugene, who, as he was rallying his men, and gallantly leading them to the charge, was struck by a musket-ball behind the ear. His attendants pressed him to retire, that the wound might be dressed; but the hero replied, ‘If I am fated to die here, to what purpose can it be to dress the wound?’ If I survive, it will be time enough in the evening; and instantly rushed into the thickest of the fire. His presence roused the brave German battalions, and they recovered the lost ground, pressing forwards, in great numbers, by a kind of opening between the woods of Sart and Taisniere, along the road to the wood of Jean-Sart. His efforts were now seconded by General Withers, from his station at La Folie. As soon as this corps reached the debouche of the woods of Blangies and Jean-Sart, the squadrons drew up behind the hamlet of La Folie, while four battalions covered their left flank, and secured the avenues on the side of Sart. With the remaining fifteen, Withers passed the little rivulet, crossed a small coppice, and took post in the hedges of La Folie. The Danish and Saxon squadrons, who composed part of his corps, then advanced, with the intention of flanking the left of the position of Villars; but only six squadrons had formed, when the Chevalier du Rosel, at the head of the carabineers, charged and drove them back. Notwithstanding this repulse, it was the progress of the corps under Withers, which hastened the retreat of the enemy’s left out of the wood of Taisniere, and alarmed Villars.

“In the carnage, Chemerault and Pallavicini fell; and the several brigades, fluctuating through the marshes and thickest parts of the wood, were mingled together in con-

siderable disorder. Villars had hastened to sustain them with the Irish brigades drawn from the centre; while Albergotti had posted those of Charost and Du Roi to check Withers in the nearest hedges of the farm of La Folie.

“To their right was the brigade of Champagne, forming a flank in the last copses, with the left to the marshy streamlet which passes near the farm; in the rear of Champagne the brigades of Gondrin and Tourville drew up, and behind them was the cavalry on the plain. The regiments of La Reine and Xaintonges supported the brigade Du Roi, and covered its left flank. Before this disposition was arranged, Villars also formed a corps of twelve battalions, in two lines, at fifty paces from the wood. At this moment Eugene advanced at the head of five German regiments, and opened a destructive fire.

“They were charged by the French with bayonets, under the immediate direction of Villars; but in the heat of the combat his horse was shot, and a second musket ball struck him above the knee. Unable to move, he called for a chair, that he might continue in the field; till, fainting from the anguish of the wound, he was carried senseless to Quesnoy. Notwithstanding his loss, the allied battalions were driven back to the edge of the wood of Taisniere, from whence they did not again attempt to advance. Thus, after an obstinate conflict of four hours, the Confederate forces only obtained possession of the intrenchments and wood on the enemy's left, but realized so much of their plan, that while they compelled their opponents to employ almost all their infantry on both flanks, they were at liberty to execute the ulterior object of the disposition, by attacking the hostile centre. The right of Marlborough, forming the centre of the allied army, had coolly waited for the proper moment of onset. As soon as the enemy began to draw their cannon out of the intrenchments, he ordered Lord Orkney to make a decisive effort upon the redans in the centre. This gallant officer, assisted by Rantzau, Vink, and other generals, had gradually advanced in proportion as Lottum gained ground; and behind him was the Prince d'Auvergne

with thirty squadrons of Dutch cavalry in two lines; in their rear was the British cavalry, under Lieutenant-general Wood, the Prussians and Hanoverians, commanded by General Bulau; and the whole imperial cavalry, under the Duke of Wirtemberg and Count of Vehlen, stood formed in columns, ready to move at the first order. Lord Orkney, advancing in one line, at a single onset took possession of all the redans, overpowering the Bavarian and Cologne guards, who were left almost unsupported, in consequence of the drafts from the centre to re-enforce the left. The heavy battery of the British centre had likewise been brought forward, and turned against these troops.

“As soon, therefore, as the allies were masters of the redans, the guns of the central battery, which had been directed upon them, moved rapidly to the right and left, and opened a tremendous cannonade across their rear, upon the lines of hostile cavalry drawn up along the plain. The French horse receding, Rantzau, with his two battalions, turned the left flank of the French and Swiss guards, and dislodged them. At the same moment, the Prince of Orange, not daunted by his former repulse, renewed the attack, and the brigades of Laonois and Alsace were driven out of the projecting intrenchment. Meanwhile, the Prince d’Auvergne passed the French works, and began to form his cavalry.

“The crisis of this sanguinary battle was now arrived. The intrepid Auvergne was charged by the hostile cavalry, and though only a part of his front was in line, he withstood the shock and repulsed them. The foremost squadrons of the enemy were dispersed only to make room for nobler champions, who advanced in gallant order; the gay, the vain, yet truly valiant gendarmerie of France, headed by Boufflers. The Marshal had remained with his wing, till he received the alarming intelligence that the allies had broken through the centre. Ordering the household horse to follow, he flew to the spot, and found the *gens d’armes* ready to charge; after a short and cheering address he placed himself at their head, and darted upon his antagonists, who were extending their lines in proportion as they

came up through the openings of the redans. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the gallant Auvergne, the allied squadrons were driven back to the intrenchments, but Lord Orkney, having taken the precaution to post his infantry upon the parapets, poured in a most destructive fire, which repulsed the *gens d'armes*, in their turn. Thrice these charges were repeated, and thrice the impetuous assailants were repulsed by the combined fires of the musketry, and the cross batteries on the flanks. In the midst of this arduous struggle Marlborough came up, and led forward a second line of British and Prussian cavalry, under the command of Bulau and Wood. They fell on the discomfited squadrons who were attempting to withdraw, and would have swept them from the field, but for the advance of a formidable body of two thousand men, consisting of the *gardes du corps*, light horse, mousquetaires, and horse grenadiers of the royal household.

“These gallant cavaliers had hastened from the right to share the dangers of the centre, and were also led to the charge by Marshal Boufflers. Their onset was irresistible; they broke through the first and second lines and threw the third into confusion. But the force of the allies, on this point, was now opportunely augmented; the whole of Eugene's cavalry having followed at a full gallop in rear of the duke's right wing. The presence of this illustrious hero animated his troops, and by the judicious dispositions of the two commanders the assailants were outflanked, and being galled by a cross fire from the infantry, retreated to the plain. Their spirit, however, was not subdued, for they still rallied, and renewed the charge several times, though without making any considerable impression. Glowing with zeal to encounter an enemy worthy of their valor, the allied cavalry moved forward with redoubled ardor equal in spirit, but superior in numbers, and drove this intrepid and distinguished body behind the rivulet of Camp Perdu.

“Before this charge took place, the Prince of Hesse had watched with eager impatience the proper moment to act. Observing Lord Orkney's advance, and Rantzau's manœuvre upon the flank of the French guards, he pushed for-

ward in column, passed the redans, and wheeling to the left, took the right of the hostile infantry in flank. This daring manœuvre had the desired effect, the enemy crowded to their right, and were again attacked by the Prince of Orange, who had re-occupied the intrenchments, with little resistance.

“While the Marquis de Valière and his noble comrades rallied the household troops, and the rest of the cavalry on the plain, Boufflers cast an anxious and scrutinizing eye over the field of battle. He beheld his centre pierced, his right dislodged, the communication with his left cut off, and the ablest officers under his command killed or wounded. Still, however, his gallant spirit was unwilling to recede, till he received advice that Legal, who commanded the left, was in full retreat with his cavalry, and about fifty battalions under Puysegur; he therefore reluctantly ordered a general retreat in the direction of Bavai. D’Artagnan marched off in close columns through the woods; Boufflers crossed the Hon, at Taisniere and the neighboring hamlet; Luxembourg covered the rear with the reserve. Beyond the woods, on the plain, in front of Bavai, the infantry and cavalry rejoined, and after halting to collect the stragglers, and break down the bridges, passed the Honeau, in the vicinity of that town. Their left withdrew towards Quevrain, and effected their retreat with little loss, because the allies were too much exhausted and reduced to pursue them in force. They passed the Honeau at Audrignies and Quevrain, where a brigade of their infantry was posted. In the course of the night they traversed the Ronelle and gradually re-assembled at a camp between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. This has been justly considered as a masterly retreat, and was applauded by Eugene and Marlborough, themselves. The allied forces, exhausted with fatigue, halted near the field of battle on the plain, stretching from Malplaquet beyond Taisniere. The engagement being so desperate, and little quarter given on either side, not more than 500 prisoners were taken by the allies, except those who were left wounded on the field; and who amounted to about three thousand. Few

cannon or colors were captured, and the victory was only manifested by the retreat of the French, and the subsequent investment of Mons. The respective losses in this desperate engagement have been, as usual, erroneously stated. Villars, with his wonted exaggeration, estimated the number of killed and wounded at 35,000 on the side of the allies. The official accounts, however, return, of infantry alone, 5544 killed and 12,706 wounded and missing, making a total of 18,250; and among these 286 officers killed, and 762 wounded. But when we take into account the loss of the cavalry, and consider the obstinate resistance of the French, behind their intrenchments, we may conclude that the killed and wounded on the side of the confederates did not fall short of 20,000 men. Of course, the French endeavored to extenuate their loss. In one of his letters to the king, Villars limits it to 6000 men, and the highest estimate, by other French writers, gives only 8137 killed, wounded, and prisoners; but from a comparison of their own authorities, we may reasonably calculate their loss at not less than 14,000 men exclusive of deserters."

The loss of the French being much less than that of the allies, so accustomed were the former lately to discomfiture, that a defeat, where so great loss was inflicted on the enemy, was considered as half a victory.

Villars was so satisfied with his own side, that he wrote that the enemy would have been annihilated by such another victory. A French officer of distinction wrote soon after this great battle: "The Eugenes and Marlboroughs ought to be well satisfied with us during that day, since, till then, they had not met with resistance worthy of them. They may, with justice, say, that nothing can stand before them; and, indeed, what shall be able to stem the rapid course of these two heroes, if an army of 100,000 of the best troops posted between two woods, trebly intrenched, and performing their duty as well as any brave men could do, will not be able to stop them, one day? Will you not then own with me that they surpass all the heroes of former ages?"

CHAPTER XX.

The French driven back from Flanders.—Defeat of the Allies, in Spain.—Renewed efforts by Louis for Peace.—The Negotiations at Gertruydenberg.—Humiliating Requisitions of the Allies.—Louis alone to remove his Grandson.—Spirited Response of the French Agents.—Louis rejects the conditions.—Address by the English Ministry to the States General.—Marlborough and Eugene oppose any Peace, and propose to march into France.—Madame de Maintenon's meddling in the War.—The Condition of Spain.—Letter of the Queen to Louis.—Resolve of Philip and the Spaniards to fight to the last.—War in 1710–1711.—Philip again driven from Madrid.—His Refusal to abandon his Crown.—Vendôme sent to Spain.—Victories of Brighthuega and Villaviciosa.—Philip re-enters Madrid.—War in Flanders.—Taking of Bouchain.—Taking of Rio de Janeiro.

THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE AT GERTRUYDENBERG.

By the conquest of Mons, following the battle of Malplaquet, and other places on the Lys and the Dyle, the protection of the great towns in Brabant and Flanders was assured; the Dutch frontier was strengthened, and the French driven back to seek future supplies for the war, within their own territories.

In Spain, however, the Spanish army had defeated the Earl of Galway, at Badajoz, and the fortunes of Philip were far from being on the wane.

The victories of the Allies, however, during the campaign of 1709, again disposed Louis to take steps for peace.

Winter had now put a stop to hostilities, that had, in the main, ended advantageously for the Allies; and the King was disposed to make new sacrifices, in order to save his kingdom. Accordingly, the Marshal d'Huxelles and the Abbé de Polignac were sent to Holland, to enter into negotiations on the part of France, and arrived there in the early Spring of 1710. They established themselves at Gertruydenberg, where the principal negotiations were held.

The main point of dispute was, of course, the "succession" or the dismemberment of the Spanish dominions: and a harsh exaction of the Allies was, that Louis should peaceably or forcibly, if necessary, cause his grandson to relinquish his dominions, and *should do it alone*.

The cession of Alsace was also a point exacted by the Allies; which Louis, under the stress of circumstances, was disposed to yield; and also, even the point, that Philip was to have the kingdoms of Sicily and Sardinia. Louis also went so far as to offer to acknowledge the Archduke Charles, as King of Spain, to withhold all assistance to his grandson, and to prohibit French soldiers from enlisting in the Spanish army; and, furthermore, to stipulate that the Spanish monarchy should never be united to that of France. He was, also, willing to concede, that a barrier should be constructed for Holland, that he would raze Dunkirk and his fortresses on the Rhine, yield up Strasburg and other districts, acknowledge Queen Ann and the established Protestant succession in England, and banish the English Pretender: he offered, further, to deliver certain towns, as security for the observance of his obligations. But the inexorable trio, Heinsius, Marlborough and Eugene, wanted still further concessions, and still insisted, as a *sine qua non*, on the immediate removal of the King of Spain, granting a truce of two months for the purpose; *Louis himself, to be the instrument of removing his grandson*.

It was claimed, in these terms, by the representative of the Emperor, Count Sinzendorff, that "France, being the sole cause of all the evils of the war, the Allies cannot be blamed for claiming that she is obliged to redress them, at her own expense. She has violated, in order to crown the Duke of Anjou, the most solemn treaties, the most positive renunciations, and the most sacred oaths. Is it not right that she should bear the penalty of her breaches of faith and her perjuries?"

The words of D'Huxelles and the Abbé de Polignac, in their response to Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary, on the subsequent rupture of the negotiations at Gertruydenberg

(July 20, 1710), strongly expressed the feeling of their master, in regard to this persistent effort to humiliate him.

They thus wrote, in speaking of the severe and impracticable proposals which the Dutch Deputies had made: "They told us that the Republic and her allies were for obliging the King, our master, to make war, alone, upon the King, his grandson, to compel him to renounce his crown; and that, without uniting their forces to those of his majesty, they would have that monarch dispossessed of Spain and the Indies, within the term of two months."

The Plenipotentiaries thus concluded: "Should we continue any longer at Gertruydenberg, nay, should we spend whole years, in Holland, our stay would be to no purpose, since those who govern the Republic are persuaded that it is their interest to make the Peace depend upon an impracticable condition. We do not pretend to persuade them to continue a negotiation which they have a mind to break off; and, in short, whatever desire the King, our master, has to procure quiet for his people, it will be less grievous to them to support the war, an end of which his majesty would have purchased at so dear a rate, against the same enemies he had been fighting with, these ten years, than to see him add to them the King, his grandson, and rashly undertake to conquer Spain and the Indies, in the space of two months, in a certain assurance, when that term is expired, to find his enemies strengthened by the places he must yield to them; and, by consequence, in a condition to turn upon him the new arms he should have put into their hands. This, sir, is the positive answer the King has ordered us to return to you, upon the new proposals of the Deputies. We do it at the end of six days, instead of fifteen, which they allowed us, as a favor. This despatch will at least convince you that we do not endeavor to amuse you."

On this letter being received, the States General resolved, after conference with the ministers of the other Allies, to continue the war with greater vigor, alleging that it was apparent from the communication of the French political agents, that France was exerting itself to render the main

article, *viz.*, the Restitution of Spain, uncertain in the execution.

They also claimed that the High Allies had a right to demand the restitution of Spain and the Spanish Indies with their dependencies, for the House of Austria; and to assert this claim, not only against "the Duke of Anjou, as the possessor, but principally against the King of France *as the Person*, who, *contrary to the most ample renunciations*, and the most solemn treaties, seized the said Dominions, in such a manner as is known to all men; and who, by consequence, is under an obligation to restore them."

They also allege, with much plausibility, the impossibility of any forces of the Allies properly and harmoniously operating with those of France, in dispossessing the Franco-Spanish monarch.

In the fierce words of the Dutch Deputies, "The will of the Allies is, that the King shall undertake, either to persuade the King of Spain, or to compel him, by his own armies, to give up his entire kingdom. Neither the payment of money, nor the union of French troops with ours, will suit us. The simple execution of this Treaty is the only guaranty they require, and that these preliminary articles be carried out, in the space of two months. That time expired, the truce is broken; the war will be renewed, even if, on the part of the French king, all the other of the preliminary conditions are fully carried out."

The above conditions Louis informed the States he had no power to perform, even if disposed so to do; although, it appeared that he had been so far humiliated and disheartened, as to offer, as one of the terms of the preliminaries, to place a certain sum with the Allies, to assist in removing Philip from Spain.

After the rupture of the conferences at Gertruydenberg, a resolution was drawn up by the States General and sent to the Ministers of the Allies, justifying themselves in the negotiations; and showing that it was on account of the obstinacy and pretensions of the French King that the conferences came to no result. To this notification the English Ministry thus responded, on the 7th August, 1710:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, having considered the letter which the Marshal d'Huxelles and the Abbé de Polignac wrote to the Grand Pensionary on the 20th of the last month, in which the French Ambassadors not only made use of false insinuations as regards what has passed at the Conference, at Gertruydenberg, in order to justify, by that, their bad faith, trying at the same time to sow dissensions between the High Allies, but, by an unheard of and unexampled proceeding, making appeal for their justification to the People of Great Britain and Holland, and in declaring for themselves the continuation of the conferences useless, and breaking up the negotiations. Her Majesty having been informed of the above resolution, by your High Mightinesses, has given order to her Ambassador to testify to your Mightinesses, that she entirely approves of your resolution and desires to express to you the great satisfaction she experiences of your conduct, during these negotiations; and assures them of her firm resolution to take vigorous measures with her Allies to prosecute the war until an honorable peace is obtained."

After the failure of the negotiations at Gertruydenberg the Grand Monarque, now grand indeed in his spirit, again called his subjects to arms. He issued a proclamation to them reciting his efforts at peace, and the pretensions of the Allies, and fixed a war-tax of ten per cent. on the revenue of all property in the kingdom.

Both Marlborough and Prince Eugene, throughout all this period were strongly opposed to peace. Besides the feelings of personal hostility that each entertained towards the French king, whose complete humiliation they desired to accomplish from political motives, considerations as to the continuance of their own personal renown and power, doubtless, much influenced them, particularly as they saw the conclusion near. Their highest dream was to enter France, sword in hand, and to dictate peace at Paris, to the humiliated king.

It having been apparent that the conferences would be

productive of no result, D'Huxelles and the Abbé Polignac had abruptly departed from Gertruydenberg, on the 25th July, 1710, and returned to France.

Her fortresses taken, her frontiers unprotected, her armies destroyed, her great generals defeated, her finances exhausted, her realm depopulated, her commerce paralyzed, France was still unconquered; and again, with a heroic spirit, prepared for a renewal of the desperate struggle.

Much of France's misfortunes in the field were due to the meddling of Madame de Maintenon, in political and military affairs; she having her favorites and partisans to be rewarded or placed. In 1701, at the beginning of the war, the able commander Catinat had been deposed, by her influence, and the incompetent Villeroi, her *protégé*, substituted in his place. The inexperienced Chamillard was maintained as minister of war, and subsequently removed, and Voisin substituted, mainly by her influence. Chamillard's removal was owing to his keeping secret from Madame a plan proposed for the taking of Lisle, a plan which was frustrated by her action: and, often, the plans of the generals were disconcerted and victories prevented by orders from the Court, transmitted with no sufficient knowledge of existing circumstances. Louis had no longer men like Colbert and Louvois at the head of his affairs; and Chamillard and Voisin were feeble substitutes—without experience, without genius, and without judgment. The great warriors, Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg and Crequi, had disappeared from the field, for whom Marsin, Tallard and Villeroi were poor substitutes, although Villars was a man of vigor, skill and fighting qualities; but he was almost the sole reliance of the King. Boufflers had been fighting for nearly fifty years—his last great feat was the conduct of the retreat and saving the French army at Malplaquet; and now he and Catinat, the faithful—the indefatigable—and the wisest of the marshals, worn out by maladies and the hardships of their campaigns, were no longer able to take the field.

While the negotiations at Gertruydenberg were in con-

templation, Louis wrote to his Ambassador at Madrid to prepare the mind of Philip for anything that might happen. "There are conjunctures," he stated, "when courage ought to yield to prudence; and, as the Spanish people, now full of zeal for him, may, at any time, change their mind—he had better think of reigning in some one place rather than to lose, at once, all his dominions."

The urgent appeals, however, of his grandson and his heroic Queen doubtless had a powerful effect on Louis in determining him to reject the proposals of the Allies. "What will become of me and my children?" wrote the Queen to Louis—"such a course would be our death and ruin—and could you put us into such a condition, when it depends upon you to avert it? I cannot believe that your humanity and the tenderness you have always shown me will permit you, now, to abandon me."

This letter of the Queen of Spain had such an effect upon Louis that he revoked orders he had given for the withdrawal of the French troops, and, at first, consented to allow twenty-five of his battalions to remain in Spain, but only until the Royal pair could provide for their safety; and he thus wrote to his Ambassador: "It is impossible that this war can ever be finished, so long as Philip remains upon the throne of Spain. This declaration will be hard for him to bear, but it is a true one—and it is necessary that he should be informed of this sad reality."

The subsequent rejection by Louis of the preliminaries offered by the Allies settled, for the time, at least, the question of any removal of the young king.

After the complete failure of the negotiations at Gertruydenberg, the Spanish Queen wrote this spirited letter to Louis: "M. de Bleycourt, having communicated to me the resolution that your Majesty has taken to recall your Plenipotentiaries, on the last barbarous propositions of the allies, I send you, by an express, my extreme thanks for it, and the testimonial of our sincere disposition to assist France, to sustain a war, which the aggression of our enemies renders, every day, more necessary and just to our side. We foresaw what would be the result of the Ger-

truydenberg negotiations; persuaded that the English and Hollanders require the removal of your grandson from Spain, and that France may be put out of condition for any future vengeance. We therefore viewed, with great displeasure, your policy to abandon us with the idea of rendering your enemies more moderate, whom their good fortune is blinding, and who only recognize force as an argument; which argument, unfortunately, they now have. Now that we may attribute to artifice all insinuations that we were to be disunited, let us try, I humbly beg of you, to regain, by ways the opposite of what has been pursued, that which has been lost: and let us try to draw by better concerted measures than the past the advantages that can be expected from the harmony of our two Crowns. We will put you now to no expenditure, but we ask you, as a most necessary thing, to show the Spaniards that we are acting together, to send us, as soon as possible, the *Duke of Vendôme* to command our army in Catalonia."

The condition of Spain was now worse even than that of France. The French territory was still intact, but Spain was ravaged by opposing armies. There was no longer any commerce—agriculture was suspended—the people were impoverished—and the battle-field was carrying off the population, by thousands. There was still also a great party operating against Philip. All Catalonia was earnest for the Archduke, although most of the nobility and people were strongly attached to Philip and his fortunes, and remained steadfast to him, during all his reverses.

At this period of disaster, stung by the exactions of the Allies, Spain arose, with desperate resolve, to sustain her king and maintain her nationality.

Philip showed himself a monarch in fact, as well as in name, and displayed qualities that, in spite of his natural defects of character, manifested his fitness for the crown.

Although at this time less than twenty-seven years of age, by his spirit and persistence, he kept up the war, fought, with hardihood, in the field, and showed no weakness, even in the darkest hour.

The Spaniards rallied about their young king, and fought

with an energy and determination that very soon revived the drooping fortunes of France, and caused the Allies to think again of Peace.

It was well for France that Philip and the Spaniards had the courage to continue the war. By so doing the forces of the Allies were divided; large armies being required in the Spanish peninsula, which otherwise would have been free to operate on the Rhine and the French frontier, and which, joined with the other forces of the Allies, might have overcome all opposition and marched triumphantly into the heart of France.

WAR IN 1710-1711.

The time for the re-opening of hostilities had arrived with a deplorable condition of France. But Villars and Berwick again boldly took the field, and marched their troops into Flanders, for battle.

Early in 1710, the Allies under Marlborough displayed their usual skilful tactics, and, out-manceuvring Villars, besieged and took several important towns, among them the important fortresses of Douay and Bethune, which covered the north-western frontier of France: and so exultant were they that they contemplated immediately marching on Paris.

Aire and St. Venant, on the Lys, were also taken, after desperate fighting.

In Spain, Philip's fortunes were not in the ascendant. General Stanhope defeated a Spanish force at Almenara; and the king retreated towards Saragossa, followed by the Allies, under General Stahremberg, who, towards the close of August, totally defeated, near Saragossa, the army of the King of Spain; and Philip V. abandoned, for the second time, his capital, and retreated to Valladolid. The Archduke Charles, again (8th Sept., 1710), amid an ominous silence, entered Madrid, and occupied the greater part of Aragon: but he was sullenly received by the Spaniards, and they refused even to sell him subsistence.

After Philip was thus driven from his capital, his cause seemed hopeless.

The Duke de Noailles had been specially deputed by Louis, to persuade him and his queen to abandon the crown of Spain, and to be willing to accept some principality, such as Naples or Sicily.

But although they testified their gratitude and respect for Louis, and their desire to please him, they resolutely and firmly refused to abandon the Spanish people, whose zeal and love for them had been so singularly manifested ; and whose fidelity had survived all the blows of fortune. Philip requested De Noailles to return to France, and to represent to Louis the true condition of Spain, still in arms and indomitable ; and to inform the French king that, although driven from his capital, he had still some resources of money and active troops, and, above all, the love of his subjects and their determination to never surrender Spain to any foreign power. " I shall always," wrote this spirited young king, now awakened by his misfortunes from all apathy of character, in response to the desire expressed by De Noailles that he should abandon his kingdom—" I shall always, whatever reasons he has given me, and whatever misfortunes he has held up to me, prefer the part to submit, that God shall decide my fate, with arms in my hands, than to decide myself to an arrangement where my honor and glory are interested, and to abandon people on whom hitherto my misfortunes have produced no other effect than to increase their zeal and affection for me."

In accordance with the earnest request of the Queen, the Duke of Vendôme had been sent by Louis to Spain, to endeavor to restore the falling fortunes of Philip. Whatever criticisms may have been made upon Vendôme, as a man and a general, he appears to have had the merit of success ; and when commanding alone was never beaten. The results of his operations as generalissimo in Spain verified the sagacity of the Queen, in praying for his appointment.

Vendôme arrived at Valladolid, about one hundred and thirty miles north of Madrid, five days before the departure of De Noailles to make his representation of the condition

of Philip's fortunes to the French King—this was in September, 1710. Vendôme advised, at first, temporizing with the enemy, so that the Spaniards might well determine their plans, and have time to concentrate their forces.

In the mean time, the Archduke, not being able to maintain his forces in Madrid, and not being assisted in time by the Portuguese, retired from that capital, closely followed by Philip and Vendôme, who had prevented a junction of the allied forces, under Stahremberg, with the Portuguese.

The Archduke's forces were divided during his retreat, and a part of them—the English under General Stanhope—were thereupon besieged and attacked by the Spaniards at Brighuega; and five thousand of them surrendered prisoners of war (November, 1710). Stahremberg thereupon having gone with too little alacrity to the assistance of the English was also defeated by Vendôme and Philip, at Villaviciosa, and suffered much loss in his retreat. Stanhope's surrender of his post before Stahremberg's arrival was much criticised—the disaster was laid to his charge, and he was deprived of his military command. The French and Spaniards thereupon recovered nearly all Spain, and scarcely any territory except some marine fortresses, including Barcelona, still remained to the Archduke. Philip became again established at Madrid, which he re-entered amid enthusiastic acclamations, showing clearly which way the feelings of the Spaniards were inclined.

EFFECT OF THE WAR.

In France, great efforts had been made to recruit her shattered armies. She made extraordinary levies, established a rigid conscription, in all the provinces, and raised large sums by extraordinary taxation. Spain, too, as it has been seen, showed a vigor unprecedented under its last three kings, and a spirit that had not animated it for half a century.

At the time of the temporary cessation of hostilities, towards the close of the year, France was somewhat invigorated and encouraged.

Much of the gold of Mexico and Peru came floating into the Treasury from the Indies; and the losses of the French fortified places and even the loss of battles seemed to have no decisive effect on the general condition of her power for war.

In the year 1711, there were no great operations in the field. Marlborough defied Villars and kept him in check. Villars was impeded, also, from active operations, by orders from Versailles pending negotiations.

At length, Marlborough, tired of inactivity, broke through the lines of Villars by a masterly strategy, and besieged and took Bouchain after a desperate contest. The war in Spain and Piedmont was not attended with any decisive results.

On another continent, however, the French had an important success. The French fleet bombarded and took Rio de Janeiro and its forts, and levied heavy contributions on the captured city, seizing also a large amount of spoil, making altogether an enormous booty, estimated at 20,000,000 of francs, which was an acceptable relief to the exhausted finances of France.

CHAPTER XXI.

Change of Administration in England.—Long Continuance of the Whigs in Power.—Influence of the Marlboroughs.—Growing dislike of the Queen to them.—Mrs. Hill Supplants the Duchess.—Dr. Sacheverell's Sermons and Tory Utterances.—His Trial.—Sympathy of the Mob.—The Queen favors the Tory or Peace Party.—Opinions throughout the Country, as to Peace.—Triumph of Sacheverell.—Removal of Whig Ministers.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Results of the new Elections.—The Tories in Power.

CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION IN ENGLAND.

IN the mean time, a great political change had been taking place in England, which was to have a paramount influence upon the question of peace for Europe. The Whigs or low churchmen had been long in power: they held the chief offices of the State, and controlled the votes of Parliament.

Marlborough, the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, who manipulated the finances, for the former's needs in the war, and Sunderland, Secretary of State, Marlborough's son-in-law, were closely allied to the interests of the Whigs, of whom the Lords Somers and Halifax and Chancellor Cowper were the leaders. All their actions, tended to the consolidation of power in Marlborough, who thus managed the State, while his wife governed the Queen, who gave her entire adherence and support to the Marlborough or Whig interest. A great change, however, had been for a long time impending. The Duchess of Marlborough, who had long held not only the fullest confidence, but the affections of the Queen,*

* Such was the equality produced by their intimacy, records Horace Walpole, that almost the sole remaining idea of superiority remained with her who had the advantage of personal charms—and, in this, there was no comparison. The Duchess it is said became so presumptuous that she would give the Queen her gloves to hold; and on taking them again, would affect suddenly to turn her head away, as if her royal mistress had perspired some disagreeable effluvia.

and whose influence with her was consequently unbounded, began to be supplanted by one Abigail Hill, subsequently Mrs. Masham, a dependent relative of the Duchess, whom she had placed about the Queen, in an humble capacity. A glass of water, thrown by the Duchess on the gown of Mrs. Hill, is reputed to have so raised the ire of the latter, as to have turned her into a formidable opponent of the Marlborough influence—and thus, a trivial cause, indirectly, under the mysterious chain of circumstances, may have changed the fortunes of Europe. The Queen became, during the year 1707, from day to day, more and more estranged from the Duchess, whose haughty manners, high temper and overbearing demeanor contrasted unpleasantly with the placid obsequiousness of the new Abigail; who, finally, so fed the royal mind with flattery and innuendoes, under the artful instigations of Harley, who had been Speaker and Secretary of State, and who variously figured as Whig or Tory, as suited his interests, that the Queen became, towards the close of the year 1709, quite estranged from her former social and political affiliations. Mrs. Hill's proclivities in favor of the Stuarts, and her aversion to the House of Hanover, materially aided her advancement with her Royal Mistress.

The former favorite, the proud Duchess, on whose society the Queen had been dependent for her daily happiness, in no long time, became an object of disgust and aversion: and the subsequent rapid changes in the ministry are supposed to have been much due to the Queen's desire to have removed from her vision the mortified Duchess, who daily annoyed her majesty, variously, with lamentations, abuse, apologies and explanations—hoping thereby to regain the royal favor. The intrigues of Mrs. Hill and Harley began early in the year 1707, and were continued down to the ultimate triumph of the Tory party; Mrs. Hill, then Mrs. Masham, as her reward, receiving the title of "Lady" through the promotion of her husband to a peerage.

Another humble instrument contributed to cause the change of views of the Queen, and indirectly to the great

political change which was to operate on the fortunes of Europe. One Dr. Sacheverell, a blatant, erratic preacher, had, in several sermons, indirectly attacked Whig principles and the Whig administration. The Doctor had boldly inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience to kingship, and reprobated the principles of the recent Revolution. He had, thereby expressed, indirectly, his preference for the Stuart succession, with which the Queen had a strong sympathy; looking, as she did, with no pleasure to the Hanoverian Succession, by which her unfortunate brother—now a beggar and a wanderer—would be excluded from all hopes of the crown. The Doctor, also, attacked, not very indirectly, Marlborough and his friends, particularly the Lord Treasurer, Godolphin; and used words, in the course of his animadversions upon the acts of the last reign, that were charged as treasonable, by the Whigs. He was accordingly prosecuted for treason, by the Whig Parliament, which, thus, unwisely, gave him undue importance; and he immediately became a favorite with the mob, and was thereupon made an instrument, by the Tories, to work up a popular and party clamor.

The Common people, delighted with a fresh excitement, were led by the Doctor's preaching to believe that the supposed Palladium of England, the State Church, was in danger, from the undue tolerance to Dissenters accorded by the Whigs: they, accordingly, began a wild outcry against the administration. On this manifestation of public sentiment the Queen placed no little reliance, and gave it her sympathetic support. A great reaction, evidently, had set in, in favor of the High Church or Tory party—the party which was opposed to continuing the War, mainly for the reason that, by the War, the Marlboroughs and the Whigs were kept in power.*

Englishmen at large, however, began to reason about the war—its causes, its advantages and its probable consequences—and to enquire what it had, so far, brought them, except laurels, which yielded no substantial fruit. Commerce, it was said, was pining—the merchant service was de-

* As to the various parties and their tenets at this time, *vid.* Ch. XXVII.

stroyed or kept inactive—and all trade at a stand. The lower orders began to have surfeit of pæans and triumphal processions—the laudation of Marlborough and Eugene began to be tiresome—and even bonfires and illuminations ceased to charm. Wise thinkers, as well as pot-house politicians, over their cups, wondered where the war was to stop; and whether England had better continue to beggar herself and get daily deeper in debt, in order to aggrandize the House of Austria, or to secure the Dutch in new possessions.

Marlborough, they said, was filling his pockets; and the war would be kept up so long as he could secure his annual plunder. He was charged with having too much power, and suspected of being interested in prolonging hostilities for selfish and personal aims; and, it was claimed, that he was acting merely in the interest of Holland; and that the victories in the Netherlands were of no real concern to England—although they well might be for that of other countries, who had the advantage of the large subsidies which were depleting the national Treasury. Loud complaints were made, too, by the Commons, that the leading allies of England had not furnished their proper contingents either of land or naval forces, particularly at the seat of War in Spain and Portugal; nor furnished their due amount of subsidies for the maintenance of hostilities.

The poverty existing throughout the country, owing to the drain on its resources for upwards of eight years, was now, in fact, felt throughout all classes—money had become exceedingly scarce—bankruptcies became numerous—mortgages and debts remained unpaid—the nation, itself, was almost in a bankrupt condition; and the English were almost as much worn out by the War as the French. There was a loud cry for *peace* from all ranks, except those of the extreme Whigs. Even Marlborough, with all his laurels, became unpopular; and Prince Eugene, when he subsequently visited England, in order to influence the continuance of hostilities, was hooted in the streets.

In the mean while the trial of Sacheverell was going on. Oldmixon, in his history of England, thus gives a graphic

account of the excitement at London, during the trial. "The trial had now lasted four days; and the Dr. had gone, every day, to Westminster, in a tawdry glass chariot. In the mean time, the cry of the Church's danger made a dismal sound in the eyes of the religious mob of London and Westminster, who, out of an extraordinary concern for the afflicted asserter of her rights, left their several crafts and callings, and crowded the streets to hail blessings on the Dr., and to be blessed by him. He had lodgings in the Temple, that he might be near his lawyers; and from thence to Westminster Hall he and his companions shouted, as if he had been drawn along in a triumphal car. The Queen, going to the House of Peers, in her chair, some of this multitude gathered about it crying out 'God bless your Majesty—God bless the Church!—we hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell!' The mob compelled all persons they met to pull off their hats to the Dr. as they huzzaed him to his trial; they abused those who refused to worship their idol, among whom happened to be some members of both Houses of Parliament."

Sacheverell, whose trial was the work of the Whigs, he being indicted as a treasonable ranter, received so slight a sentence that it was a virtual victory for him; and, through him, of the Tories over the Whigs. He was made a sort of target for party enthusiasm; and making a triumphal tour about the country, his reception gave indication of the changing sentiment of the higher as well as of the lower community. Illuminations and bonfires attested the joy of the roaring mob; and banquets, cavalcades, and the homage of nobility and gentry, while they exalted the pride and pleased the vanity of the Doctor, indicated, also, the current public sentiment. Cunningham, a contemporary writer, thus records Sacheverell's triumphal march. "Dr. Sacheverell, making a progress around the country, was looked upon as another Hercules for the Church Militant. Wherever he went his emissaries were sent before, with his pictures; pompous entertainments were made for him, and a mixed multitude of country singers, fiddlers, priests and sextons, and a mob of all conditions,

male and female, crowded together to meet and congratulate him; among whom drunkenness, darkness and a furious zeal for religion extinguished all regard to modesty. When this guest drew near, with his guards, he found open houses, lodging and entertainment ready provided for him, as if he had been a demigod; and days and nights were spent, everywhere, in shows and the clamorous noise of those religious furies."

Addresses from all parts of the Country now poured into the palace, congratulating the queen, as if for her triumph, and urging her to dissolve her recalcitrant Parliament, and to have the wishes of the people manifested by a new representation.* Under the subtle operations of Mrs. Masham, Harley, and St. John, who had been removed from office as Secretary of War by the Whigs, influenced, too, by her own feelings, the Queen, in a short time, became a complete convert to Tory ideas; and the ministers opposed to that party began to drop, one by one, from their places. The Queen had been much agitated and frightened by a project formed by the Whig Ministry in July, 1707, and encouraged by the Tory party in order to exasperate her, to invite the Electoral Prince of Hanover to England with

* In treating of the Change of Ministry or Revolution in Politics, as being much promoted by the Sacheverell trial, a Tory pamphlet of the time thus gives the Tory view (1710):

"At the same time the eyes of the whole nation were opened by this impolitic trial, and the ferment it occasioned in the Capital City, instead of abating, spread and increased throughout the Kingdom. Hereupon the bulk of the nobility, gentry, clergy, substantial freeholders and good citizens, declared themselves loudly in the cause of their lawful monarch, embraced the government more warmly, and by their loyal and zealous applications to the throne, sought shelter under her Majesty's royal prerogative, against the impending invasions of our happy constitution in Church and State; which made an alteration in the Ministry, and a dissolution of the last parliament unavoidable. Thus Dr. Sacheverell's trial, although not the true cause, was yet the occasional means of the late change."—Somers' Collection, Vol. XIII.

Bolingbroke, in his dedication to Walpole, speaking of Sacheverell, says, "You had a sermon to condemn, and a parson to roast; for that I think was the decent language of the time; and, to carry on the allegory, you roasted him at so fierce a fire that you burned yourselves."

a view of taking up his residence there ; and this increased her desire to get rid of the Whigs.

In May, 1710, the Duchess of Marlborough was removed from her offices at Court : her places were filled by Mrs. Masham and the Duchess of Somerset ; and the mortified wife of Marlborough was obliged to vacate her apartments in the palace. In June, 1710, the Earl of Sunderland, the foreign Secretary, was removed and Lord Dartmouth, who was not only a Tory but a man of Jacobite proclivities, was appointed his successor. In August, 1710, the Lord Treasurer, Godolphin, an upright and honorable minister, and the great friend of Marlborough, was also removed, and others soon followed. Harley, (subsequently made Lord Oxford,) Marlborough's great enemy, was placed at the head of the Exchequer ; and St. John, Harley's then great friend and ally, became principal Secretary of State. Lord Cowper also resigned the seals as Chancellor, which were, thereupon, given to Sir Simon Harcourt, an avowed adherent of the Stuarts, and who had been Sacheverell's leading counsel. Before the close of the year, the places of the departing Whig Statesmen were all filled by those who were affiliated to Tory views.

The King of France naturally viewed these changes in the Ministry with increasing satisfaction, and saw, in them, the safety of his Kingdom. The retirement of the men who had steadfastly opposed him and given vigor and effect to the war, and their replacement by those who leaned towards peace, and who were the bitter foes of his great antagonist, Marlborough, gave him hopes for a speedy deliverance from all his political troubles. Desirous not to embarrass the Ministry, whom he perceived would soon be acting indirectly in his interests, he gave secret orders to Villars to act, as much as possible, on the defensive, and wisely adopted a Fabian policy, both in the field and the Cabinet ; foreseeing, as he did, that the strong bonds of union between the allies would soon be either severed or so loosened that there would be room for his diplomatic intrigues.

On September 15, 1710, Parliament was dissolved, and

great efforts were made to secure a new one whose views might be in harmony with those of the new Ministry. Marlborough and his wife were attacked by paid satirists and Court scribblers, and outrageous charges of peculation, extortion and avarice were advanced against them. The Clergy became, under directions of Ministers, propagandists of the Tory interests—pamphleteers were engaged to write up peace—and mobs were brought together to terrify those who were inclined to vote for Whigs. In some places, violence was used, and the multitude of active emissaries for the Tories showed that the election was to be the result of a strongly supported and well concocted scheme. Cunningham says of these elections, “The canvassings and elections were carried on with such feuds as were never before known. In many cases, elections were carried by open violence. That firebrand of sedition, Dr. Sacheverell, employed his whole time and pains to this purpose. Religion was looked upon as the only popular cause, in the support of which all the furies were raised to procure votes—and ran together, as it were, to the funeral of the government, and the public liberty.”

As a result of the elections, the victory of the Tories was so complete that very little is heard of Whig principles or Whig statesmen during the remainder of the reign. The new Parliament assembled on the 25th of November, 1710, and a motion to return thanks to Marlborough, for his great services during the year, was defeated.

These changes in England, while they cheered and encouraged France, alarmed the allies, and caused apprehension that England might, at any time, abandon them, if they were indisposed to unite with her in adopting peace measures. The rise of the Tories was, in fact, the salvation of France, and spared her the humiliation of the proposals of Gertruydenberg. The allies, at that time, could have made a peace most advantageous to themselves and injurious to France: their exactions, however, and the invincible spirit of Louis had kept up the war, until he subsequently gained, at Utrecht, nearly all he had ever contended for.

CHAPTER XXII.

Negotiations for Peace between England and France.—Indirect approaches by England.—The Abbé Gaultier.—His interview with De Torcy.—Secret Negotiations.—Prior sent to France.—Death of the Emperor Joseph I.—Effect of his Decease on Peace Negotiations.—Negotiations continued.—Attitude of Austria.—The Emperor's manifesto.—The Dutch still Opposed to Peace.—Action of the British Parliament.—Final Agreement by the Cabinets of England and Holland, to make Arrangements for a Permanent Peace.—The 12th of January, 1712, fixed on, for the Peace Session.—Speech of Queen Anne.—New Peers created.—Personal Views of St. John.—Extract from a Tory Pamphlet.—War of the Pamphleteers.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE FINAL PEACE, 1711.

ENGLAND, controlled now by a Tory administration, showed an evident desire for the cessation of the war. In Jan., 1711, she made overtures for peace; at first, through obscure diplomacy—rather intimating than expressing her real desires—but Louis eagerly grasped the opportunity to enter into negotiations with her, apart from the other allies. England's desire for peace was, doubtless, somewhat stimulated by the success of the French in Spain, which counterbalanced their defeats in Flanders. The removal of the King of Spain seemed no longer a matter of debate: consequently England was now, actually, in the rather anomalous condition of manœuvring in the interest of a Peace with France, having for its base the maintenance of a Bourbon on the Spanish throne—the very fact of his succession having caused her to enter into the war.

France was not slow to practically avail herself of the indications shown by England; and the Abbé Gaultier, an adroit priest, who had been chaplain to Marshal Tallard, during his embassy, and had remained in England as Louis' secret observer and agent there, was directed to sound the ministry. He was also actually employed as a mouthpiece

for the English, in their efforts to ascertain the French ideas, and to intimate, delicately, to the French Court, that the English government was not unwilling to enter into negotiations, and that the wishes of Holland, in the matter, might now be considered as of secondary importance. On the arrival of Gaultier at Versailles, in January, 1711, he went immediately to the apartment of the Minister, to whom he was personally known. "Do you want peace?" said he, brusquely, "if you do, I bring you the means of treating for it, and to finish it, independently of the Dutch, unworthy as they are of the King's good graces, and of the honor he has done them, in so often treating with them, for the pacification of Europe." "Asking for peace, at that time," says De Torcy, "of a minister of France, was like asking a sick man if he wanted to get well." When Gaultier's position in the matter was ascertained, and his authority somewhat verified, it was signified in moderate shape, through him, to the English Court, that France would, if it treated at all, now only deal with the English, and not with the Dutch: and a brief general memoir of what the French were willing to base the negotiations upon, was transmitted through Gaultier to the English Ministry. The poet Prior, in conjunction with Gaultier, was subsequently secretly sent to France to negotiate for more particular propositions, and to communicate the demands of England: on Prior's return to England, Menager, the French diplomatic agent, returned with him, but his arrival was kept secret. In these various negotiations, all question of the removal of Philip, from Spain, seemed to be abandoned.

In the mean while an event occurred which accelerated the return of peace. The Emperor Leopold had died in 1705; and now died, suddenly, of the small-pox, in April, 1711, Joseph I., his oldest son, who had succeeded him in the crown of the Empire. Joseph left no male children, so that the Archduke Charles, his brother, the Pretender to the Spanish crown, according to the then recognized custom for the Imperial succession, was soon after elected to the Imperial throne; and subsequently crowned at Frank-

fort. It was evident, therefore, that, if the purport of the preliminaries of 1709 were carried out, the Spanish dominions would be united to the Imperial crown, and the European balance disturbed by the union of Spanish and German interests, which, it was by many considered, would be quite as perilous to the other States of Europe, as if a Bourbon was to remain seated on the Spanish throne. Indeed, more so; for, in the former case, there would be a unification of crowns—while in the latter, they were actually distinct, and a unification would not take place unless by the happening of somewhat remote contingencies.

A powerful motive for peace, more particularly felt in England, and urged by the Ministers in order to influence Parliamentary action, was the fact that the existence and integrity of a great state, like France, was necessary, as a counterpoise to the growing power of Austria. The figures of the expenses in conducting the war, too, were commented on; the supplies voted, for the year 1711, being £6,000,000. Subsequently, (August, 1711,) negotiations were carried on at London; and preliminary articles of Peace were offered by France, in Oct., 1711, through M. Menager, as a special representative for the purpose, and were signed by the two Secretaries of State, on the part of England. These negotiations were conducted secretly; but, on the signature of the preliminaries, they were transmitted to Count Gallas, the Imperial Minister, in a shape somewhat modified in favor of Holland, but were received both in Germany, and Holland, with universal indignation: in England, too, they were ridiculed; and lampoons and satirès against the Queen and Ministers flew about that country.

The substance of these preliminaries was, that the Crowns of France and Spain should be forever disunited, that advantageous commercial regulations should be made with Great Britain and Holland, for traffic in Spain, the Indies, and the Mediterranean ports; and that the Dutch should have a sufficient barrier, by the possession of certain fortified towns in the Netherlands. The destruction of Dunkirk was also provided for, and the restitution of the Elector of Bavaria to his Dominions and estates. Nothing

was said, in these preliminaries, as to any retirement of the King's grandson, but he was to renounce Naples, Sardinia and the Duchy of Milan. There was also to be full recognition of the rights of Queen Anne to the British Crown, and of the subsequent succession, as established by Parliament. These secret negotiations with England, in which a strong disposition for peace was shown, on either side, irrespective very much of the wishes of Holland in the matter, led to preparations for the open final treaty.

The Queen gave a secret private audience to M. Menager, before his departure from London, at which she thus expressed herself: "I do not like war. I will do everything I can to terminate this one, as soon as possible. I would like to live on good terms with a King, with whom I am allied by blood. And, I hope, that our accord will promote peace and good feeling between our subjects."

The Earl of Strafford, the English Minister at the Hague, was directed to communicate to the Pensionary the state of the negotiations that had been commenced at London, and to explain why the proceedings had been kept secret. The English Government, also, gave the Pensionary to understand that, if Holland desired to further carry on the War, she, England, desired repose, and could no longer be drained by subsidies. The government, however, expressed the desire, in treating for peace, to do so, with the assent and in the interest of all the allies; but indicated that, if Holland held back, England would negotiate with France, separately.

Although it was apparent that the English administration was in favor of peace, the Dutch, who were still for carrying on the war, or for making peace only on the rigid terms of the Gertruydenberg demands, hoped that the bulk of the people in England and the old public sentiment there would still influence the government to continue hostilities: the Queen, however, had definitely made up her mind for peace, and took every means to further its conclusion.

In the mean while, Austria was standing aloof—sullenly regarding all these efforts at negotiation, and protesting against peace, on any terms, except on the condition of the

removal of the Bourbon from Spain. She took special umbrage at the action of England, in treating separately, and referred to the obligations of the compact of the High Alliance, which expressly forbade separate treaties, and the Emperor solemnly appealed to the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire to support his views. In November, 1711, the Emperor sent a communication to the States General, protesting against, what he terms "the artifices of the enemy, by which they design the loss of the Spanish Crown to Austria"—"which," he says, "can never be sufficiently deplored; for which only, and for preserving it in our Imperial family, and, at the same time, for maintaining the peace of Europe, this War was undertaken—ten years have been spent in fighting, and much blood spilt, so that nothing more grievous or more fatal could happen in the world!" The Emperor further protested against the preliminaries put forth by France, as absurd in the extreme, and as a shrewd attempt to divide the allies, when the King of France "cannot," he states, "stand, in view of the armies of the allies—when he is not secure anywhere—neither in the field nor in his fortified towns; when, having lost part of his forces and of his places, he is afraid that, very suddenly, the war will be carried into the very heart of his Kingdom! Can one help being justly irritated against those, who, having been so often deceived by the trickery of the French, will venture to try once more the good faith which they always promise, but never keep—who give assistance to their enemies, abandon their allies, renounce their alliances, and, in a word, make use of their own victories to prepare a yoke for their own posterity?" The Emperor further urges the States General to unite with him, in endeavoring to dissuade England from entertaining the proposed preliminaries, to prosecute the war, and not to put their trust in the fidelity of French promises. The Emperor thus concludes his manifesto:

"As for us, whatever consequences this affair may have, we utterly reject these preliminaries, as well for the present as hereafter; and we will not, by any means, permit our Ambassadors to assist in the conferences, which are pro-

posed for treating upon them : but, rather, we will exert all our efforts, as we are actually doing, that our armies, particularly those in Catalonia, may be reëstablished and reënforced; and that all the world may be convinced that it is, in nowise, any fault of ours, that the war is not carried on to a happy issue; and that a peace, firm, lasting and advantageous to all the allies, is not restored to the universe."

The Dutch continued still indisposed to peace, unless it were of such a nature as to entirely humble the common enemy and insure a complete determination of all pending questions—and, particularly, to remove the Bourbon dynasty from Spain. In November, 1711, it was urged in the Council of State of the United Provinces that, "To all the conquests of the allies no more was wanting than a hand's breadth of ground; that magazines of food and provender should be laid up, during the winter, on the French frontier, and that, early in the Spring, the allies should give battle to the French, and then, penetrating to the sources of the Schelde, the Somme, the Oise, and so on to the Seine, they should march into the very Capital of France, and there, in the heart of the Kingdom, dictate their own terms of peace." It was urged also that, "since the year 1702, very much blood has been shed, many Provinces, towns and communities laid waste, and an infinite number of people, in divers parts, brought to poverty and misery." The extraordinary burthens of taxation, also, were enumerated, and the disturbance of all the commercial and financial business, upon which the Dutch were dependent for their national resources and power. In Parliament, which assembled in Dec., 1711, the Queen openly declared her desire for peace, and stated what had been done to further that end. The Whigs in the House, however, were still violent in opposition, but, after a long and acrimonious discussion, the peace party carried their measures, by a large majority. In the Lords the peace party was unsuccessful by one vote.

EFFORTS IN ENGLAND FOR PEACE.

In spite of the arguments of the Emperor, it began to be evident to the people of Europe, that there existed no further real cause for the continuance of a war that had been desolating Europe for the last ten years. Ten years of bloodshed had practically become useless. The force of circumstances, if not that of war, seemed destined to accomplish the cherished policy of Louis, and carry out, at the end, the will of Charles II. The policy of a European balance, it was thought, would be carried out by provision for the severance of the crowns, and whether the new stock of Spain was to be Bourbon or not was of no deep concern. There was a growing feeling for peace, particularly, as the main object of the war appeared now merely to be the further humiliation of Louis, and the aggrandizement of the House of Austria.

Towards the end of November, 1711, the Cabinets of England and the States General, in appearance, at least, finally concurred in taking permanent steps for the final negotiations for peace, and the settlement of all questions arising during the War. The 12th of January (N. S.) of the ensuing year was fixed upon for the opening of the Congress; and *Utrecht* was designated as the place of meeting. Circular letters were addressed from the English State Office, signed by St. John, to all the allies that had been engaged in the war, notifying them of the meeting, and requesting them punctually to send their plenipotentiaries to the Congress.

In order to place the events of the time more picturesquely in view, it may be not uninteresting to record here the speech of Queen Anne, in December, 1711, to her Parliament, on the proposed peace. The address as a State paper supposed to emanate from a sovereign mind, in dignity, spirit, and directness of purpose, compares favorably with similar bald and indefinite State communications of the present day.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN: I have called you together as soon as the public affairs would permit; and I am glad that I can now tell you, that, *notwithstanding the arts*

of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. Our allies, (especially the States General,) whose interests I look upon as inseparable from my own, have, by their ready concurrence, expressed their entire confidence in me; and, I have no reason to doubt but that my own subjects are assured of my particular care of them. My chief concern is, that the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of these nations may be continued to you, by securing the succession to the Crown, as it is limited by Parliament, to the House of Hanover. I shall endeavor, that, after a war, which has cost so much blood and Treasure, you may find your interest in trade and commerce improved and enlarged by a Peace, with all other advantages which a tender and affectionate sovereign can procure for a dutiful and loyal people. The Princes and States, which have been engaged with us in this war, being, by Treaties, entitled to have their several interests secured at a peace, I will not only do my utmost power to secure every one of them all reasonable satisfaction, but I shall also unite them in the strictest engagements for continuing the alliance, in order to render the general Peace secure and lasting. The best way to have this Treaty effectual will be to make early provision for the Campaign; therefore, I must ask of you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the necessary supplies for the next year's war; and I do most earnestly recommend you to make such despatch therein, as may convince our enemies that, if we cannot obtain a good peace, we are prepared to carry on the war, with vigor. Whatever you give will still be in your own power to apply, and I doubt not but, in a little time, after the opening of the Treaty, we shall be able to judge of its event."

After speaking further of the onerous taxes incurred by the war, and the prostration of the manufacturing interests, and of abuses and evils to be redressed, the Queen thus concludes:

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN: I cannot conclude, without earnestly recommending to you all unanimity, and that

you will carefully avoid everything which may give occasion to the enemy to think us a people divided amongst ourselves, and, consequently, prevent our obtaining that good Peace of which we have such reasonable hopes and so near a view. I pray God direct your consultations to this end, that, being delivered from the hardships of war, we may become a happy and flourishing people."

In the mean while, pending the major deliberations, Great Britain made a special compact with Holland, those Powers mutually binding themselves "to continue the war, if necessary, until a general peace be obtained and established, and duly observed and carried out; and that all infractions thereof should be prevented." A similar compact was made with the Emperor.

In order to the final success of the Tories, who were beginning to totter, under the attacks and intrigues of the Whigs, and to precipitate Peace measures, 12 new Peers were created late in Dec., 1711, with which reënforcement the Tories carried the necessary measures through both Houses; and there was no further obstacle to the success of their plans. Among the new obsequious peers was Samuel Masham, husband of the famous *intrigante*.* The House received an abrupt answer of the Queen to their address, to the effect "that she thought her former speech to both Houses would have given satisfaction to everybody; and that she had given instructions to her plenipotentiaries to act according to the desire of that address." The House of Lords, then under direction of the Queen, adjourned to the 14th January, 1712, the day fixed for the meeting of the Commons.

In a letter, written by St. John to the Earl of Strafford, Dec., 1711, he thus strongly expresses his personal views and desires, as to peace; "As to my conduct in the negotiations for a peace, I shall want no justification. I have, it is true, acted as boldly, in the promoting that good work, as your lordship used to do, when you thought the interest

* It is related that when the twelve new Peers first appeared in the House of Lords, they were sarcastically asked, by a witty Whig peer, "if they were going to vote separately, or by their *foreman*."

of your country at stake ; and I tell you, without any gasconade, that I had rather be *banished for my whole life, because I have helped to make the peace*, than be raised to the highest honors, for having continued to obstruct it. However, God be praised—we run no risk of this kind—the eyes of mankind are opened, and they begin to see the falsehood of that system of policy on which we have acted, for so many years.” And banished, indeed, he was,—for his action in the matter—when subsequently, the Whigs obtained the reins of government ; and he was forced into exile, in order to save his head.

While the above negotiations were going on in England, Louis sent numerous despatches to Spain, urging the King to do what he could, to dispose his subjects towards views of peace, under the new preliminaries, which would retain him on the Spanish throne. Louis urged him, also, to send Plenipotentiaries to the proposed Congress, although England and Holland had expressed a disinclination to recognize any representatives from Spain, at the Sessions. He also requested Philip to send him a full power, authorizing him to treat with England, in behalf of the Spanish crown. In Dec., 1711, Philip, accordingly, sent a full and formal written power, authorizing Louis to enter into treaties in behalf of Spain ; reciting that the power was given, because it had been stated that Plenipotentiaries from Spain would not be recognized. In this power it is specially provided that there should be no dismemberment of the Spanish country nor of the Indies.

In the mean while the Ministry in England were active in infusing into the public mind a desire for peace, and the pamphleteers were busy in circulating their views. One of the most effective papers, written by Swift, just before the session of the Congress, produced a great effect upon the public mind, and created a lively sensation in political circles, in that it boldly advocated a separate peace with France, if none other could be made. A few brief extracts from Swift’s pamphlet on “ *The conduct of the allies* ” will place the Tory side of the argument in a strong light.

“ As to the war, our grievances are, that a greater load

has been put upon us than was either just or necessary, or that we have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to, for the advancement of *private wealth and power*, or, in order to further the more dangerous designs of a faction, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war, which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us and destructive to the enemy, was neglected. Those who are fond of continuing the war, cry up our constant success, at a most prodigious rate; and reckon it infinitely greater than, in all human probability, we had any reason to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are passed; and now, at last, like the sick man, we are just expiring with all sorts of good symptoms. If, after such miraculous doings, we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, although we should proceed without any reverse of fortune, what could we look for, in the ordinary course of things, but a Flanders' war of twenty years longer? Do the advisers of this war, indeed, think a town taken for the Dutch is a sufficient recompense to us for 6,000,000 of money; which is of so little consequence to determine the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a new town every campaign, at the same price?

“I say not this to detract from the army or its leaders. Getting into the enemies' lines, passing rivers and taking towns may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances; but, when all this brings no solid advantage to us, when it has no other end than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and to increase the *fame and wealth of our General*, I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be, and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both toward reducing our enemy and working out some benefit to ourselves. But the case is still much harder; we are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting our substance—not for our own interests, which would be but common prudence—not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly—but, perhaps, to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may

live to feel the effects of our own valor more sensibly than from all the consequences we imagine from the dominion of Spain in the Duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself and feed many hundred thousand inhabitants, where all encouragement will be given to introduce and encourage manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted ; and which, added to their skill, industry and parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every market in the world.

“What arts have been used, to persuade the people that Britain must inevitably be ruined, without the recovery of Spain to the House of Austria—making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom, as ours was, then, to depend upon an event which, after a war of miraculous successes, has been found impracticable ! As if great Princes and Ministers could find no way of settling the public tranquillity, without changing the possessions of Kingdoms and forcing sovereigns upon a people without their inclination.

“Is there no security for the island of Britain, unless a King of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather ? Has the enemy no towns or sea-ports to give us for securing trade ? The present King of France has but a few years to live, by the course of nature ; and, doubtless, would desire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers, in private families, have no great influence on their grandsons, and, I believe, they have much less among Princes ;—however, when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely that Philip will be directed by a brother, against his own interest and that of his subjects ?—Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must operate in the times of peace ? Those, at least, are probabilities ; and cheaper at least, by six millions a year, than recovering Spain or continuing the War—both which seem absolutely impossible. But the common question is, if we must now surrender Spain, what have we been fighting for, all this while ? The answer is ready ; we have been fighting for the *ruin of the public interest and the advancement of a private*. We have been fighting to raise the wealth

and grandeur of a *particular family*—to enrich usurers and stock jobbers—and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a faction, by destroying the landed interest.

"The nation is now beginning to think these things are not worth fighting for, any longer, and therefore desires a peace."

The insinuations against Marlborough, in the above extract, are not at all obscure. Never was paper war so rancorous as at this period and up to the final treaties of peace; and never had one been so ably conducted. Pamphlets and caricatures, in those days, filled the place of modern journalism.* The Essayists and pamphleteers, being supported and supposed to be instructed by party leaders, officials and Ministers, had a stronger influence and a much greater importance, than if they merely gave expression to their individual views. Their productions were eagerly read, and had great effect in forming and directing public opinion. Addison wrote several tracts and contributed to Steele's *Tatler*, the *Guardian*, and the *Whig Examiner*. Both of those effective writers advocated the views of the Whigs, as also did Bishop Burnet, Congreve and Rowe. Earl Cowper, the Whig Lord Chancellor, and the chief of that party, also condescended to enter the arena of the Pamphleteers, and wrote a paper in the *Tatler*, in response to St. John's violent partisan letter in the *Examiner*.† Swift, who had joined the Tories, in 1710, being disappointed in his hopes of preferment from the Whigs, did effective work for his new employers, in the *Examiner*, denouncing the Marlboroughs and the Whigs, in vituperative terms. His paper on "The Conduct of the Allies" went through four editions in a week. St. John, Arbuthnot, Prior, and Atterbury were also bitter and active with their pens, in aid of the Tory views and peace. The first twelve papers of the *Examiner* were written by one or other of these earnest advocates for making the great political change. De Foe, also, was active as a

* The petty newspapers of the time being mere budgets of occurrences and rumors.

† See Appendix.

pamphleteer, in opposition to the war, although he subsequently condemned the terms of peace. So violent in their attacks were the political writers of the day, that the Pillory was often put in acquisition to cool their party zeal; and sometimes their productions were burned by the hangman. Against Swift's pamphlet on the "Conduct of the Allies" many answering tracts appeared. The most effective was one supposed to have been written by Dr. Francis Hare, the Chaplain of the Duke of Marlborough. The number of answers and the constant reference to "The Conduct of the Allies," in the writings of the day, exhibit the irritation Swift's pamphlet caused to the Whig leaders, and also the injury it was doubtless causing to their party, in leading public opinion against the war, and the principles of the Whigs. Dr. Hare's pamphlet thus concludes, in an invective against Swift's tract: "Having sufficiently discovered the wicked design of this vile book, and pointed at general solutions of almost all the fallacies 'tis filled with, and given such ample proof of the writer's integrity and honesty, I shall conclude with desiring all honest and impartial men not to believe, upon the infamous author's bare word, that we are under any real necessity of concluding against the consent of our allies, and in breach of so many treaties, a most just, necessary, and successful war, by a scandalous and insecure peace!"

CHAPTER XXIII.

Opposition of Marlborough, Prince Eugene and Heinsius to Peace.—Charges in England, against Marlborough.—He is Dismissed from all his Employments.—The Duke of Ormond replaces him as Commander-in-Chief.—Plans of Marlborough and Eugene to prevent Peace.—Action of the Envoys of Germany, Holland and Hanover, in England.—Departure of Prince Eugene, from England.

OPPOSITION OF MARLBOROUGH AND EUGENE TO THE PEACE.

MARLBOROUGH, Eugene and Heinsius were still bitterly opposed to peace. They availed themselves of every resource to prevent further negotiations, and, by even underhand efforts, at London, sought to change the ministry and to dispose the Queen to side with their views. In these efforts they were aided by the agents of Austria and of Savoy. In the mean while, although attacked at home on all sides, by Parliament, Ministers and Pamphleteers, Marlborough was steadily doing his duty, and manifesting, in his campaign of 1711, the same vigor and generalship which had theretofore marked him as the greatest commander of the time: his operations, however, during 1711, were derided, in Parliament, and stigmatized as petty and futile; and new charges of peculation were framed against him. The Pamphleteers also kept up their attacks on the character and services of the Duke, and the Parliamentary proceedings were continued, with a spirit of resentment and bitterness against him, that showed that nothing would satisfy the Tories but his complete disgrace and overthrow. In May, 1711, the triumph of Harley had been made more evident: he having been raised to the peerage, by the title of Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and appointed Lord High Treasurer.

On the return of Marlborough to London in November,

1711, all manner of stories were circulated to his discredit. He was charged, among other matters, with retaining the sum of £420,000, destined for war purposes; and with having received annual presents from those charged with distributing the subsidies; against all which he manfully and effectually defended himself. Pending the investigation of these charges the Queen, induced thereto by her Council, who had long decided on his removal, *dismissed the Great General from all his public employments*—this occurred on the 31st December, 1711. In his letter to the Queen, the Duke states, “Madame, I am very sensible of the honor your Majesty does me in dismissing me from your service, by a letter of your own hand; though I find by it, that my enemies have been able to prevail with your Majesty to do it, in a manner that is most injurious to me; and if their malice and inveteracy against me had not been more powerful, with them, than the consideration of Your Majesty’s honor and justice, they would not have influenced you to impute the occasion of my dismissal to a false and malicious insinuation contrived by themselves, and made public when there was no opportunity for me to give in my answer, which they must needs be conscious would fully detect the falsehood and malice of their aspersions, and not leave them that handle for bringing your Majesty to such extremities against me.”

This dismissal of Marlborough was, of course, a matter of great exultation in France. Louis had felt insecure of success, either in war or in making peace, while Marlborough had the control of armies or influence in the English Councils; and he is reported to have said, exultingly, when the news was brought to him, “The dismissal of Marlborough will do all we can desire.”

While the war had been raging in Europe, the bloody business had not been neglected in America. It had been going on from Florida to Canada on no large scale, but with bitterness and cruelty. It consisted, mainly, of petty contests and surprises on the frontiers, the destruction of unprotected villages and the massacre of their inhabitants; in which operations both parties obtained the aid of the native

savages, as auxiliaries. Prowling bands of these, as opportunity offered, penetrated even to the heart of New England, and kept it in a state of agitation and alarm; and the scalping of women and children and the burning of peaceful homes theoretically contributed their quota of the glory attendant upon the military operations of the war of the Succession, but added little to the result. Canada, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia were made points of attack, at different times, by the English and Colonial forces. The most important English expedition was that set on foot in the Spring of 1711, by St. John, with the object of subduing Canada, and in fact, all North America then in French possession.

The expedition consisted of a fleet of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, carrying among other troops seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army. These were commanded by Brigadier Hill, commonly called "Jack Hill," a brother of the notorious Mrs. Masham, and elevated to his post, although quite incompetent for it, in order to spite the Marlboroughs. In connection with the expedition New England colonists prepared to attack Montreal, aided by 600 warriors of the Six Nations; while to defend that place and Quebec, Hurons, Ojibwas, and Abenakis congregated within their walls and held their council fires with the French. Useless delays and incompetency both of Admiral and General, on the English side, caused the complete failure of the expedition and the loss of about 900 men drowned in ascending the St. Lawrence.

After the dismissal of Marlborough, the Duke of Ormond was sent to replace him as commander of the army. Marlborough, indignant at his treatment and frustrated in his plans, through the creation of the new peers, who, in the House of Lords, determined the majority for peace, now entered into the most desperate resolutions and plans, as is alleged by some writers, in connection with Prince Eugene, who on his visit to England was coldly received by the Queen and Ministers. He and Marlborough, finding all diplomacy and secret intrigue of no avail, sought to make a rebellion, beginning, as is actually charged by some con-

temporaneous writers, with the taking off the heads of some of Marlborough's enemies; while Eugene advocated the setting fire to London, in different quarters, the capture of the Tower and the Bank, and the seizing the person of the Queen; and, in the mean time, the Electoral Prince of Hanover, the heir presumptive to the Crown, might make a landing. These statements, however, of the proposed violent measures of Marlborough and Eugene have not received general credence, but are supposed to have emanated from the brains of Tory emissaries. The Hanoverian envoy, Bothmar, and Count Gallas, the envoy of the Emperor, united with Eugene and Marlborough in their general plans to frustrate the progress of peace—and also the Dutch Minister. Count Gallas, on account of his persistent action in opposition to the government, was forbidden the court; and he was notified that no further communications would be received from him.

The Dutch Minister, Buys, leaving England subsequently, to take part in the deliberations at Utrecht, was thus addressed by the Grand Treasurer, on departing; "You have behaved yourself, here, not like the Minister of a friendly power, but, like an incendiary, sent to set everything on fire. All your intrigues, that you thought secret, are known to us—even your slightest conversation with your friends." Buys took this address with Dutch phlegm; and his sensibilities were not sufficiently disturbed to cause him to refuse the 1000 pistoles that the Grand Treasurer brusquely handed over to him, with no more words than, "Here,—take these 1000 pistoles, that the Queen presents you."

While the plenipotentiaries were settling themselves to their work at Utrecht, Prince Eugene continued at London, to obstruct the action of the peace party, and to raise such troubles and discontent between Queen and Ministers, and the political factions of Whig and Tory and the Stuart malcontents, as might disturb or frustrate the peace negotiations. The Prince made many efforts to open formal negotiations with the Ministers, on the subject of the War, and presented a memorial from the Emperor, offering to double

his contingents, and materially increase his contribution towards its expenses. All his advances were politely but coldly received; and he found himself the subject of delays and equivocations. The desperate views of Eugene and his friends, not being seconded by the leading Whigs; and finding all his proposals treated with neglect by the Queen and Ministers, and himself made an object of prejudice and suspicion, he determined to leave England.

There was, of course, under all these plots and various views of parties and partisans, great contention between those respectively desiring peace or war; and the country was kept in a disturbed and excited condition. Great precautions were taken for the Queen's safety—her guards being doubled. Eugene also was guarded by troops, under pretence of escort; until, humiliated and angered, he, at last, to the relief of the Queen and the Ministers, departed from England, on the 17th March, 1712.

Eugene thus speaks of his disappointment, in his memoirs: "I have entered France on more sides than one, and it is not my fault that I did not penetrate farther. But for the English, I should have given law in the Capital of the Grand Monarque, and shut up his Maintenon in a convent for life."

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Congress at Utrecht.—The City of Utrecht.—Regulations for the Sessions.—Forms to be Observed.—The Mode of Procedure.—The States Represented.—The Ambassadors and other Personages.—Opening of Conferences.—Etiquette observed.—Opening Address by the Bishop of Bristol.—Reply of the French Ambassadors.—The Demands of the Various States.—Effect, in England, of the French Demands.—Opposition in Parliament.—Protest of the Pretender.

THE CONGRESS AT UTRECHT.

THE City of Utrecht had been decided on as the place where the plenipotentiaries should meet, and the time indicated was the 12th of January, 1712.

Utrecht was a large and handsome town situated on an ancient channel of the Rhine, about 18 miles South-east of Amsterdam, and the capital of the province of the same name, which was formerly an independent Bishopric—the last Bishop having sold out his dominions to Charles V., in 1528. The City was, at this time, about three miles in circumference, without its suburbs, which were extensive, and adorned with gardens, groves, summer houses and agreeable promenades. Broad avenues and streets covered with trees adorned the town, which was celebrated for the purity and salubrity of its air; causing it to be a place of frequent resort by strangers. The Session of the Congress attracted many to the place—some for amusement, some from interest in the proceedings.

The City, during the session of the Congress, was also numerously attended by merchants, dealers, adventurers and gay people of either sex. Theatrical troupes were also present, in great force; and balls, banquets and Te Deums, celebrating the birthdays of the various monarchs, represented by the foreign ministers present, many of them with their families, made the town a very lively one for the

period of over fifteen months, during which the Congress was in session. As may be well believed, there was much ado at Utrecht, when the news was made known that it had been selected as the place for the session of the great Peace Congress. The little City began immediately to bestir itself ; and the "Noble and Venerable Lords, the Burgomasters, Burghers, Masters, and Magistrates," on receipt of the news, bethought themselves that it would be wise and decorous for them, to depute a commission of their number, as they state in their resolution, "To congratulate and compliment the Lords, Plenipotentiaries and the Public Ministers upon their arrival ; and to confer and concert with the said Lords, about making such a proper regulation for their domestics, as may tend to the preserving of good order and tranquillity ; as also for regulating, with the said Lords Plenipotentiaries, such other affairs as shall happen." Among other things all tradesmen were warned that they were not to arrest or detain for debt the persons, domestics or effects of any of the foreign ambassadors. Special provision was also made, by the magistrates, for the movements of the couriers that were to carry the despatches of the various envoys, and "the City carriers were to keep ready, day and night, in the City suburbs of the 'White Gate,' a good running chaise and two good horses ; and as soon as one chaise should be gone with a courier, another should be ready in its place, with two other horses for setting out, at the first word, either by day or night."

The Burgomasters and magistrates of Utrecht had a troublesome task on their hands to maintain peace between the townspeople, (who, of course, were violent partisans of the allies), and the followers and servants of the various Ambassadors, who favored the French. All persons were forbidden by proclamation "to presume, in the least wise, to rail against, slander or abuse, by any word or deed whatsoever, the said Lords, the Public Ministers or those of their retinue ; and all transgressing was to be punished arbitrarily and corporeally, according to the exigency of the case."

In December, 1711, the Plenipotentiaries gathering from

all Europe were proceeding on their way to Utrecht; special passports having been issued to them, for their safe passage and conduct, and for that of their servants and effects. By mutual understanding, the Ministers of the different governments were to attend only in the rank and name of "Plenipotentiaries," so as to avoid as much as possible, all disputes about ceremonial procedure as "Ambassadors," and the delay the same might occasion.

The order and mode of the proceedings at the Congress were regulated by the Deputies, with great care. The respective Plenipotentiaries were to come to the conferences in a coach, with not over two horses and a small retinue; and specific provisions and agreements were made to prevent rivalries and quarrels between the pages, coachmen and domestic servants of the respective representatives, who were prohibited from carrying sticks, swords and arms of any kind. To avoid all question of precedence, the Ministers were to take seats in the order that they should enter the hall of the Congress, without any right of priority. The general sessions of the Congress were directed to be held twice a week—and particular conferences of the various Ministers were held, *ad interim*: but the interruptions and delays were numerous and prolonged.

The mode of procedure, as to the negotiations agreed on, was to reduce to writing and submit the various specifications or postulates, in the respective interests of the nations presenting them, which each desired to be passed upon.

Among the States represented, at the Congress, besides Great Britain, Austria, France, and Holland, were Hanover, Poland and Saxony; The Circles of the Empire, Portugal, Prussia, the Romish States, Savoy, Sweden, Switzerland, Tuscany, Bavaria, Venice, Geneva, Lorraine, Cologne, the Palatinate, Modena, the Swiss Protestant Cantons, and many others of lesser degree—such as the Electorate of Triers (or Treves), the Duchy of Guastalla, and the Bishopric and Principality of Hildesheim. England sent Robinson, Bishop of Bristol and the Earl of Strafford. The Emperor sent three plenipotentiaries, to watch the pro-

ceedings; France sent the Marquis d'Huxelles, the Abbé Polignac and the Chevalier Menager; all of whom had been active agents in the preliminary negotiations—and Holland sent nine diplomatic agents.

Many other personages, some of high rank, attended the conference to represent their own interests or those of petty potentates, or for special purposes connected with the Conference. Among them were the Duke de Bouillon, the Duke of St. Pierre and Aremberg, the Prince de Ligne, the Marquis de Rochegude “on the part of the Evangelical Cantons, and for the Confessors who are on board the galleys for matters of religion”: the Baron de Woerden was entrusted with the interests of the Princess d'Epinoy; M. Mais, with the affairs of the Princess of Conti and of the principality of Orange, and the Abbot du Bos with the interest of the Prince of Condé. The Princess of Condé, the Duke de la Tremouille, the Duke of Mirandola, the Princess d'Ursini, the Princess of Austria and others had also agents to look after their respective interests. Besides the three French there were, in all, eighty other Plenipotentiaries or diplomatic agents, representing Powers or interests. According to the suggestion of one of the French Ministers, the Marshal d'Huxelles, the chimney pieces and mirrors were removed from the great hall of the Convention, in order that there might be no place which might serve as a distinction or preference of places, and the Hall was warmed by huge braziers filled with coal.

At the opening of the Conferences on the 29th January, 1712, the Plenipotentiaries of France and Great Britain entered at the same time, by different doors, as had been agreed on; advancing into the room, each on his respective side, they gravely and profoundly saluted each other; and then advanced, in equal steps, neither advancing the other, and took pains to sit down at the Council Table, at the same exact moment. After the above decorous entrance the Ambassadors of the Dutch Provinces and of the Duke of Savoy made their entry, and then the others. The Ministers of the Empire were present in the town, but did not attend the early sessions.

An account is given, in the *Historic Mercury* of the time, of the theatrical appearance of the Bishop of Bristol on the occasion of the opening. He was clad in a dark violet velvet robe, striped and embroidered with gold lace: around his neck was a heavy gold chain, from which hung two feathers of gold crossing each other; and, above them, a golden crown, the badge of his decoration as Secretary of the Order of the Garter. Two pages, in ash-colored coats laced with silver, and waistcoats of green velvet, bore the Bishop's long train. His address was brief, and of a general character, directed to the French envoys; and is recorded to have been mainly as follows:

“We are assembled to-day in the name of God, to commence the work of a general Peace between the High Allies and the King, your Master. We bring sincere intentions, and even express orders from our Superiors, to unite, on their part, in everything which may tend to advance and happily terminate so salutary and Christian a work. On the other hand, we hope, gentlemen, that you are of the same mind and that your powers are so ample that you will be able, without loss of time, to respond to this effort of the Allies, by replying frankly and openly to the points we may have to regulate in these conferences; and that you will do them in so clear and specific a manner, that all and each of the allied States will be contented with the just and reasonable satisfaction they may receive.” The French Ministers responded at length, professing the good intentions of their King towards Peace, and stating that their powers were ample to negotiate and conclude.

The principal questions open for discussion, at the great Peace Congress, were the Spanish succession and the disposition of the Spanish dominions, the limits of the barrier between France and the Netherlands, the reestablishment of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the acknowledgment of the Protestant succession in England, and an indemnity to the Duke of Savoy for his losses and damages in the war. There were very many minor questions, under the various claims presented.

THE DEMANDS.

The specific demands or postulates, put in by the Plenipotentiaries, in behalf of their respective States will be now briefly digested. France, it will be observed, had already obtained the advantage, in that the Allies, instead of presenting an unbroken front and acting harmoniously, for the general interest, preferred separate demands, many of them with the purpose, doubtless, of preventing all negotiations. The demands of France, so different from her humble claims at Gertruydenberg, caused great astonishment among the representatives of the allies. Their tenor showed that she had a secret strength not apparent in the conferences, and which her separate negotiations with England would fully account for.

The demands of France, as briefly put forth, were the exchange of certain fortresses, *viz.*: Tournay, Aire, St. Venant, Bethune, Douay and Lisle, to compensate for the demolition of Dunkirk, and of others to be yielded as a barrier—that the upper Rhine frontier was to be restored—that the House of Austria should cease all pretensions to the throne of Spain—and that the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be restored to their possessions, the latter to have the Spanish Netherlands. On behalf of the Emperor it was protested among other things, that the whole Spanish Monarchy and dominions such as they were, possessed by Charles II., be entirely restored to the former, “To remain forever and without any interruption to the Princes of the House of Austria, their heirs and successors, according to the order and disposition made in the last Will and Testament of Philip IV.” Lorraine was also to be yielded to its Ducal family.

DEMANDS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

One of the principal demands of Great Britain was with reference to the Hanoverian succession. The words of the demand are, “The most Christian King shall acknowledge, in the clearest and strongest terms, the succession of the

Crown of Great Britain, according as it is limited by Acts of Parliament (made during the reign of the late King William III., of glorious memory, and of her Majesty now reigning) to the Protestant line in the House of Hanover. The most Christian King shall likewise oblige himself to cause the '*person*,' who pretends to the aforesaid Crown of Great Britain, to depart, forthwith, the territories of France." There were also provisions against giving aid to any Pretender to the Throne, for demolishing Dunkirk, for yielding to England, Newfoundland, Acadia, and other islands and territories in North America—that France should acknowledge the Electorate of Hanover, and, generally, should cause just satisfaction to be given to the other allies of what they demand of France.

DEMANDS OF PORTUGAL.

The demands of the King of Portugal were, that the interests of Portugal would not be sufficiently secured, unless all Spain and its dominions were restored to the House of Austria; except certain cities and territories in Europe and America, which were to be restored or yielded to Portugal; and she was to be compensated for losses by the war.

THE PRUSSIAN DEMANDS.

The first specific demand of the King of Prussia was, that he should be acknowledged in that quality, without restriction or condition, and also as sovereign of the Principality of Chalon-Orange; and also over estates situate in Franche Comté and Burgundy, as also Neufchatel and Vallengin. He also made demands in behalf of certain cities and cantons of Switzerland, claiming that "in future, no part of the laudable Helvetic Body, particularly of the laudable Protestant cantons and their confederates, be attacked, nor their tranquillity disturbed, under any pretence whatever." The King also made claim to have the same commercial advantages with France as Great Britain or Holland were to have. An important clause in the Prussian demand, was in behalf of the French Huguenot

refugees. This clause was to the effect that the relatives of French refugees who had settled in Prussian dominions were to be allowed to leave France to join their relations in Prussia—and such refugees or their descendants were to have the possession and restitution of all their property in France, real or personal. The clause concludes as follows: “That the said *refugées* or their descendants, born subjects of his Majesty, shall enjoy as well in France, as in any part of its dominions, all the rights, privileges, franchises, immunities, liberties and advantages, which his Majesty’s other subjects ought to enjoy there, without any exception or reserve. His Majesty is desirous, besides, that it may please his most Christian Majesty to grant, in consideration of the friendship which is to be reëstablished by the Peace, liberty of conscience to those of the Reformed religion who shall remain in France; as also to enlarge and set at liberty all those who, for the sake of the Reformed Religion, are detained in prisons, convents, galleys and other places.”

DEMANDS OF HOLLAND.

The demands of the States General were the most voluminous of all. They claimed, among other things, a renunciation, by France, of all claim to the Spanish Netherlands as they were possessed by Charles II., under the Treaty of Ryswick, and they were to be put under the control of the Emperor, as a barrier against France. Also certain frontier towns and estates were to be placed under the dominion of Holland; and were to be forever renounced by France. Specific demands were also made for certain regulations as to commerce and navigation. A similar demand was made in behalf of the French Huguenot refugees and their effects as by the King of Prussia. It was also claimed, that such parts of the Principality of Orange and its properties as are situate in France should be made over to the States General, to be restored to the persons who have a right to them, and that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and the port and mole filled up, at the expense of France; which fortifications were never to be restored.

DEMANDS OF SAVOY.

Savoy put in demands for its Duke to the Spanish throne, according to the will of Philip IV., claiming that all the estates of Savoy in possession of France be restored, and that the sovereignty of other territories and fortified places bordering on Savoy be made over to that country, as a barrier against France; and that France should make satisfaction to the subjects of Savoy for losses in the war.

OTHER DEMANDS.

The "Associated Circles of the Empire" also make demand for the restoration to them of all they had yielded to France under the Treaty of Munster, and subsequent treaties; and also those yielded by the House of Austria, and also the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar. This demand of the circles embraced the three Bishoprics of Mentz, Toul and Verdun; they claimed also that Louis should renounce all claims, as feudal sovereign, over Lorraine and Alsace.

Specific demands were also made by the "Most Reverend and Most Serene Prince, the Elector of Trier," the Elector Palatine, the Reverend Lord Bishop and Prince of Munster and Paderborn, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Prince of Wurtemberg, the Knights of the most Illustrious Order of Malta, for the restoration of certain cities or territories or estates, respectively, and for the damages and expenses of the war.

A claim was also urged by the minor children of the late Joseph-William, Prince of Orange and Nassau, for the restoration of their estates, and protesting against the claims of the King of Prussia, as to them. The Marquis de Nesle also claimed the same, and deputies from the Spanish Netherlands demanded that the Emperor be made Sovereign over them.

The French King also, later, during the progress of the Treaty, put in claims in behalf of the Elector of Cologne and of his ally, the Elector of Bavaria.

A claim made in behalf of the Prince of Orange and Nassau, demanded that he be secured in his Principality, and

all its estates and feudal rights, both of the town and Principality of Orange, and elsewhere, particularly in France, Franche-Comté and Dauphiné.

The Duke of St. Pierre also claimed to be recognized as Sovereign of a little State called Sabionetta on the confines of the Milanese territory—and to be restored or compensated for his Ducal crown. The Ducal army, it appeared, had consisted of 500 men, in war time.

OPPOSITION TO THE FRENCH DEMANDS.

The French Plenipotentiaries had boldly put in (February 11, 1712) the above recited demands of an extravagant character, and in opposition to all the principles of the alliance. These demands created great excitement in Parliament; and even Oxford and St. John felt they could not give in to the overreaching spirit of France, or submit to demands, which, as the victorious party, were humiliating to England. So great was the agitation in England, caused by the terms of the French demands, that Louis, under apprehension that the progress of peace might be obstructed, and suffering from afflictions that much diminished his usual spirit and force of character, subsequently modified his views. The House of Lords was still recalcitrant. It declared, by resolution, on February 26, 1712, "That the propositions made at Utrecht, by the French Plenipotentiaries, were scandalous, frivolous and dishonorable to the Crown and to the Allies—that those who counselled the Queen to treat on such propositions were enemies of her Majesty and the nation—and that an address should be presented to her Majesty to testify the just indignation of the House at the presentation of such propositions." Such an address was accordingly sent, to which the Queen replied very curtly. The House of Commons also opposed the French propositions, and adopted a long address, suggesting modifications; and at the same time charging, that the stipulations of the States General to furnish troops and materials of war, had not been carried out.

It was not until the 5th March, that the respective spe-

cific demands of the allies were all put before the Congress. The demands were signed by the respective Plenipotentiaries and given in without order or preference.

The French, with a wily policy, postponed until the 30th their answers to the demands; but when that day came refused to make their answers in writing, advancing the pretext that they waited fresh instructions; and abruptly stating that there had been writing enough, and that it was now time to negotiate. Up to May 10, they had made no response to the demands of the allies, much to the indignation of the Plenipotentiaries of the latter. The French Agents, no doubt, preferred not to definitely express their views, while their secret negotiations with England were going on. In the mean while, to expedite matters, Mr. Harley* and the Abbé Gaultier had arrived at Utrecht, about April 4, and instructed the English Plenipotentiaries as to the plan of a Peace as agreed on; but it was to be kept secret from the other allies.

PROTEST OF THE PRETENDER.

An interesting episode of the Congress, at Utrecht, was the appearance, by protest, of the English Pretender, who desired to figure upon the scene; but, as he could not be properly represented by a diplomatic agent, being not a reigning monarch, he addressed a circular manifesto to all the Plenipotentiaries.

It bore the date April 15, 1712; but was not put in until towards the close of the sessions: an extract of the words of the protest is as follows, translated from the Latin original, then to a great extent the language of diplomacy.

“JAMES, THE KING.

“James III., by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to all Kings Princes, States, Republics, etc.

“Since, after a war so long and so ruinous to all Christianity, it appears that all the Powers are ready to make peace

* This was a relative of the British minister.

between themselves, and that they are on the point of ratifying it without regard to our interests—we have judged it necessary to assert, by this Protestation, our inalienable right against all which may be done to its and our prejudice. * * * But, in truth, it is not merely our affairs which concern us, but the immutable love which we have for our good subjects causes us to observe, with great grief, that, so far, neither their lives nor their property have been spared to sustain the crying injustice that has been done us ; and that now they are reduced to the extremity that if peace be made, without regard to us, they must necessarily become the prey of strangers and be put under their dominion.”

The protest thus concludes :

“As to our rights, we find ourselves obliged, both with regard to ourselves, our descendants and our subjects, to strive as much as in us lies, that it do not appear that we consent, by our silence, to that which may be done to our prejudice, and to that of the legitimate heirs of our kingdoms. This is why we solemnly protest, in the best form that we can, against all those things which may be determined and contracted to our prejudice, as utterly without right and legitimate authority ; and, having appended our great seal to these letters, we entirely reserve all our rights and all our pretension, and we declare that they exist and will exist in their totality. In fine, we protest, before God and before men, that we will be free from all blame and of all reproach, and that to us cannot be attributed the cause of the misfortunes that the wrongs that have already been committed or that may be committed, in the future, against us, may bring upon our Kingdoms or upon all Christendom.

“Given, at St. Germain, April the 25th, in the year of our Saviour, 1712, and the 9th of our Reign.

“Signed, by the King’s own hand, .

“JAMES,
“KING.”

CHAPTER XXV.

The sudden Decease of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy and the Duke of Brittany.—Consternation and Grief throughout France.—Grave suspicions of Poison, against the Duke of Orleans.—Character of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy.—Eloquent Eulogy by St. Simon.—Depression and Grief of Louis XIV.—Interview of Villars with the King.—Effect of the above Events on the Congress.—Renunciation required of Philip, to the French Crown.—Louis delays Action.—Action of Philip.—He agrees to the Renunciation.—Summary of the Renunciations by Philip and the French Princes.—Subsequent Endorsement thereof, by the French Parliaments.

THE DECEASE OF THE DAUPHIN, THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, AND THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.

WHILE the Congress was deeply engaged, in anxious conference, three untoward events occurred, which had an important influence upon its deliberations.

On the 14th of April, 1711, had died of small-pox, in his fiftieth year, the Dauphin, the only legitimate son of Louis XIV., and the father of the King of Spain. The decease of the Dauphin left his son, the Duke of Burgundy, the heir apparent to the throne of France.

The Dauphin was a person of mediocre intellect, and of no force of character; and the King was consoled for his loss, in the attachment he felt for his young heir, the Duke of Burgundy, who had been educated by the virtuous Fénélon. He was a Prince of great intelligence; amiable, truthful, sensible, religious,—and with a purity and simplicity of character that was conspicuous at a Court marked by vice, intrigue, and crime. The aged monarch gloried in the idea of having so worthy a scion as the Duke of Burgundy to succeed him, on the throne of his ancient kingdom—and all France looked forward, with joy and confidence, to the succeeding reign, which the advancing years of the King indicated, could not be far distant.

The vivacious manners, and engaging *esprit*, also, of the Duchess of Burgundy, the new Dauphiness, endeared her to the aged King, and to all who came near her. The King was never so happy as in her society, and in his distress and disappointments her presence always cheered and diverted him. So companionable was she to the King, who rejoiced in her gay and buoyant spirits, contrasting as they did with the formal obsequiousness of the Court, that she was privileged to enter his presence, at all times,—even when he was engaged with the Ministers in his Cabinet. In private it is related, that she would clasp the King about the neck, jump upon his knees, torment him with all sorts of sportiveness, rummage among his papers, open his letters, and read them in his presence—sometimes, in spite of him. She also is described to have been true and generous to friends and foes. Everybody loved her, about the Court; and missed her radiant presence, when absent from it.

On the 12th of February, 1712, at the age of 26, to the consternation of the Court, where gayeties seldom allowed the contemplation of death, a sudden and mysterious malady carried off this much beloved member of the Royal circle. Only six days thereafter, on the morning of the 18th of February, just as the proposals for pacification were under their first consideration, her husband, the new Dauphin, the young Duke of Burgundy, also died in great torment, of the same mysterious malady, that is said to have tortured him as with a consuming fire. The Duke had been mysteriously informed that his life was to be attempted, but had given no heed to the warning.

And, again—on the 8th of March, in less than three weeks, one of the two infant sons of the deceased Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brittany, to whom the title of Dauphin had been given on the death of his father, also, was no more; leaving the remaining son, a feeble child, then also stricken with the same malady, to survive, to be the future King of France. His frail life is related to have been saved by the courageous, and, under the circumstances, heroic act of the child's governess, the Duchess de Ventadour, who, rendered suspicious by the sudden de-

cease of the parents, drove away all the attendant physicians, and administered an antidote against poison, or some other powerful medicine that had been brought from Italy.

Thus, three Dauphins of France died in less than a year—the last two, and the wife and mother, in less than twenty-four days!

These disasters culminated the woes and misfortunes of France, and bowed down the aged monarch with grief inconsolable. Instead of strengthening his royal Bourbon line through his descendants, he saw, with horror, his dynasty passing away before his eyes.

The effect of these terrible events was to appal all hearts; the grief and consternation was general, not only through France but throughout Europe. So dreadful and sudden were they, that suspicion of poison was generally entertained, and fell, as with common consent, on the King's nephew, the Duke of Orleans—the future Regent—between whom and the crown intervened the feeble child, the then Duke of Anjou, the great-grandson, and the Duke de Berry, the remaining grandson of the King, soon destined to follow his brother to the grave.

These suspicions of poison were verified by autopsy, and for some years continued to cloud the life of the Duke of Orleans. He was, for a long time, avoided by King and courtier, and was hooted at and insulted by mobs, who threatened to tear him to pieces. Sober reflection, however, subsequently generally exculpated him; and the fact that the Duke of Anjou lived to be King, in time, relieved the Duke of Orleans from the foul suspicion of an inhuman crime, foreign to his general character, and which Louis subsequently refused to entertain. Some placed the responsibility of these horrible events upon the Duc du Maine, a natural son of the King, afterwards named by him as principal Regent in his will, but supplanted by the Duke of Orleans.

And yet these suspicions against the future Regent did not seem to be without plausibility. There was an end to be gained, and he was entirely without moral principle, thanks to the teachings of his infamous preceptor, the Abbé

Dubois, whose only god was ambition, and whose rule of action, expediency; who debauched his pupil's mind in order the better to rule him; and taught him avarice, perfidy, deceit, infidelity, and even the semi-worship of devils. So false became his pupil that he boasted of his skill in deceit as an accomplishment, and plumed himself on being the most skilful trickster in the world; he gloried also in his daughter's accomplishments, as an intriguer and hypocrite. The Duke's study, of chemistry and necromancy, added not a little to the suspicions against him.

A feeling and most eloquent panegyric may be found in the pages of the Duke de St. Simon, usually flippant and cynical, on the Dauphin, Duke of Burgundy, who, in that loose age, and with such a father and grandfather, was indeed a novelty in character and conduct—much due, doubtless, to the teachings of Fenelon.

St. Simon thus records his tribute to this virtuous Prince—the idol of his grandfather and the hope of France. It is a beautiful panegyric, and worth repeating, even at this late day.

“So much intelligence and of such a kind, joined to such vivacity, sensibility, and passion, rendered his education difficult. But God, who is the Master of all hearts, and whose divine spirit breathes where he wishes, worked a miracle on this Prince, between his eighteenth and twentieth years. From this abyss he came out affable, gentle, humane, moderate, patient, modest, penitent, humble, and austere—even more than harmonized with his position.

“Devoted to his duties, feeling them to be immense, he thought only how to unite the duties of a son and subject with those he saw destined for himself. The shortness of each day was his only sorrow—all his force, all his consolation was in prayer, and pious reading. He clung, with joy, to the cross of his Saviour, repenting sincerely his past pride.

“The King, with his outside devotion, soon saw, with secret displeasure, his own life censured by that of a Prince, so young, who refused himself a new desk in order to give the money it would cost to the poor; and who did not care

to accept some new gilding, with which it was proposed to furnish his little room.

"Great God! what a spectacle you gave to us, in him! What tender but tranquil views he had!—What submission and love of God!—What a consciousness of his own nothingness, and of his sins!—What a magnificent idea of the infinite mercy!—What religious and humble fear!—What tempered confidence!—What patience!—What constant goodness, for all who approached him! France fell, in fine, under this last chastisement. God showed to her a Prince she merited not. The Earth was not worthy of him—he was ripe already for the blessed eternity.

"The discernment of this Prince was such that, like the bee, he gathered the most perfect substance from the best and most beautiful flowers. He tried to fathom where to draw from them the instruction and the light that he could hope for. He conferred, sometimes, but rarely, with others besides his chosen few. I was the only one not of that number who had complete access to him; with me he opened his heart upon the present and the future, with confidence, with sageness, with discretion. A volume would not describe sufficiently my private views of this Prince—What love of good! What forgetfulness of self! What researches, what fruit! What purity of purpose! May I say it, what reflection of the Divinity in that mind—candid, simple, strong—which, as much as is possible here below, had preserved the image of its Maker! It was he that was not afraid to say, publicly, in the salon of Marly, that 'A King is made for his subjects and not the subjects for him,' a remark, that, except under his own reign, which God did not permit, would have been the most frightful blasphemy!"

In reading of the dreadful infliction of these sudden deaths, it may be said, that the *Nemesis* was indeed come, to this king of vanity and blood—claiming, at last, and executing, in full, her dreadful retribution!

The year 1712 had, indeed, commenced for France under most disastrous auspices.

Marshal Villars recounts, that, when he called upon Louis, at Marly, the firmness of the monarch gave way to

the sensibility of the man. He burst into tears; and in a voice of heart-felt grief, exclaimed: "You see the state I am in, Marshal—there are few examples of horrors such as have come upon me—of losing, in the same week, my grandson, his wife, and their child—all of the greatest hope and tenderly beloved. God has punished me—I have well deserved this. I will suffer less in the other world. But let me suspend my griefs, in view of the misfortunes of the State; and let us see what we can do to redress them."

EFFECT ON THE CONGRESS OF THE DECEASE OF THE THREE DAUPHINS.

The decease of the three dauphins left, as heir to the crown of France, the last of the sons of the Duke of Burgundy, the then Duke of Anjou, subsequently notorious as Louis XV., then a child, under three years of age. This feeble life was the only obstacle to the legitimate right of his uncle, the former Duke of Anjou, now Philip of Spain, to the French Crown. At the time of his journey to Spain, Philip had, between him and the French crown, the Grand Dauphin, son of Louis, the Duke of Burgundy, and any children of the latter.

The decease of the Dauphins and the Duke of Brittany were startling political events, and created, anew, grave discussion in European Cabinets. These occurrences imperilled the closing of the Treaty, on the preliminary basis agreed on; and complicated the task the Congress had in hand of establishing peace for Europe.

It was deemed desirable that additional and more distinct pledges should be required, on the part of France, against any possible union, not only of the crowns, but of the right to the two crowns of France and Spain, the event of their union now appearing almost imminent.

It was deemed necessary, also, in view of the new political conditions that resulted from the decease of the Dauphins, that there should be, not only a positive compact between the contracting parties to the Treaty, but that there should be an absolute and specific renunciation, on the

part of Philip, for himself and his heirs, in any and all events, of his and their succession to the French Crown; which renunciation, it was demanded, should be sanctioned by the Cortes and be decreed irrevocable.

The consideration of this important question and the *modus operandi*, for a time, absorbed the attention of the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht—and, indeed, had a paralyzing effect upon all negotiations, and raised the hopes of the enemies of peace. The action of the Holland Plenipotentiaries was now again especially directed to embarrass negotiations. All the powers, except Austria, conceded, in appearance at least, the point to France and Spain, of the continuance of Philip on the Spanish throne—the *sine qua non* was, however, always that the crowns should not, under any circumstances, be vested in one person.

The principal exaction, now, on the part of the English Plenipotentiaries, urged, not only at Utrecht, but by special mission at Paris, was that the King of Spain should individually make positive and open renunciation of all right to the French crown. This was the more necessary, inasmuch as the King of France seemed to consider that *he* could not make any treaty that would determine the succession to the throne of France, which being a matter of State law and inheritance, was a right that no living person could take from those who were entitled to it. To this demand of a renunciation, Louis, for a long time, did not respond, much to the surprise of the Plenipotentiaries of the allied powers. The delay kept all proceedings in abeyance, and gave encouragement to the war party in the Congress.

Louis finally took the ground that he had no right to make any stipulation for his grandson, as to the French succession, and that, if he did, the stipulation would be void. At length, however, moved by the attitude of the other Powers, in April, he sent despatches to the King of Spain, instructing him that the matter was in his own hands, and requesting him to come to a resolution on the subject; at the same time, counselling him, for the sake of peace, and for the repose of Europe, to keep possession of his kingdom and to renounce his right to the throne of France, although,

at first, he seems to have given contrary advice.* In the mean while St. John wrote to Louis in these emphatic words :

“ The queen has directed me to say to you that this article of the renunciation, is of so great consequence not only as affecting her, but all Europe besides, both now and for all posterity, that she will not consent to continue any further negotiation for peace, until the expedient she proposes is adopted, or some other of equal force.” The English Plenipotentiaries were accordingly instructed to obtain the renunciation, or to cease further negotiation.

The consideration of this matter consumed several months, at Utrecht, and at London and Paris, between special envoys. Louis XIV. seemed still unwilling to have his grandson, for whom he had great affection, and who, in a direct line, was his possible successor, permanently debarred from his ancestral throne. Philip V., however, showed no repugnance to the renunciation ; and expressed his determination to cast his fortunes, thereafter, entirely with his Spanish subjects, for whom he seems to have had a real affection, and by whom he was beloved ; with whom he had shared the perils and triumphs of the war, and whose national independence he had, with them, heroically maintained.

This important matter was finally and virtually determined in May, 1712. The King of Spain wrote an earnest and decisive letter to Louis, renouncing, forever, his right of

* Philip was, in fact, urged by Louis, not to abandon his right to the Crown of France ; but to make an exchange with the House of Savoy—Spain for Piedmont, Savoy and Montferrat—these latter to be annexed to France, in case of Philip's accession to the throne of that country.

Louis wrote him, under date of May, 1712, when Philip was hesitating : “ Judge how agreeable it would be to me to be able to rely on you for the future ; to be assured that if the Dauphin lives, I shall find in you a regent accustomed to command, and capable of preserving order, and repressing the cabals in my kingdom. If this infant should die, you will enter on my succession, according to the order of your birth ; and I shall have the consolation of leaving to my people a virtuous sovereign able to rule them, and who in succeeding to me, will unite to the Crown States so considerable, as Savoy, Piedmont and Montferrat.”

succession to the French Crown. Before writing this letter of renunciation, Philip, who was a Prince of sincere piety, turned, for light, to Heaven. After performing his devotions, and taking the holy communion, he summoned the French representative at his court, and thus said to him :

“ I have made my choice—no temptation shall ever induce me to abandon this crown, which I consider the gift of God ! ”

“ By this,” he states in the conclusion of his letter to Louis, “ I give not only peace to France, but I give her an ally, which, without this, might, some day, in league with her enemies, give her great embarrassment ; and, at the same time, I adopt the alternative which appears to me the most conducive to my own glory and the good of my subjects, who have so strongly contributed, by their attachment and their zeal, to keep my crown upon my head.” In a speech of Philip to his Council of State, July 3, 1712, after enumerating the conditions upon which peace was to be made, he thus expresses himself :—

“ The instances of the King, my grandfather, that I would prefer, in the act of renunciation, the French Monarchy to that of Spain, have been very great ; but, neither his earnest solicitations, nor the consideration of the grandeur and strength of France, have been able to alter my gratitude and the obligations I have to the Spaniards, whose fidelity has secured and strengthened, on my head, the crown which Fortune on two marked occasions had rendered uncertain ; so that, to remain united with the Spaniards, I would not only prefer Spain to all the monarchies in the World, but I would also content myself with the least part rather than abandon the nation.” He, therefore, states, that he renounces the succession to France, for himself and his heirs, in favor of the Duke of Berry, his brother, and the Duke of Orleans, his uncle. By this act of renunciation, the King of Spain not only ceded his right to the French crown, but, also, under the demands of the allies, his rights to the Kingdom of Naples, the Duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands.

When the Courier arrived from Madrid, with the missive

of consent to the renunciation, its contents were immediately communicated to the English Court.

The progress of negotiations at Utrecht will be a little anticipated, in giving, in the above connection, an abstract of the texts of the renunciations that were made by Philip and also by the French Princes.

The formal renunciation of Philip is not dated until the 5th of November, 1712, and recites that it is made to cement a firm and lasting peace, and for the general repose and welfare of Europe, in a proper equilibrium of powers. He renounces the crown of France, under all possibilities, for himself and his descendants; and makes provision for the descent of the Spanish crown, in case of his decease, without descendants, in such manner *that it shall not devolve on the House of Austria*. The renunciation, in conclusion, states, that he "cheerfully signs the renunciation, with a wish henceforward to live and die with his loving and faithful Spanish subjects—bequeathing to his descendants the inseparable bonds of their fidelity and affection."

The English Cabinet, under apprehension, that the renunciation of Philip, and a compact by Treaty, might not be considered as sufficient to bind other of the Bourbon princes of the blood, from asserting their claims to the Spanish crown, in case, by possibility, they might succeed to that of France, instructed their representatives to require the renunciations, also, of the Dukes of Orleans and Berry—one the nephew, and the other, the grandson of the King of France; and, consequently, the presumptive legitimate heirs of the double succession, in case of the decease of the infant Dauphin.

A formal renunciation by the Duke de Berry was, accordingly, subsequently made, dated on the 24th of November, 1712. It is addressed to all kings, republics, and Communities of the Earth, both present and future: and renounces, for himself and his descendants, all right to the succession of Spain, "in such sort that all the lines of France and Spain, respectively and relatively, shall be excluded forever and always, from all the rights that the lines of France can have in the crown of Spain, and the

lines of Spain on the crown of France." A proviso was also inserted that the House of Austria should also be excluded from the Spanish Crown. A similar renunciation was also made by the Duke of Orleans, nephew of Louis, bearing date the 19th of November, 1712.

But even disposed as England was to peace, she would listen to no engagement pledged by Louis, unless there should be a solemn endorsement of the engagements of the King and his kin by the French National Parliament, so far as there was any power left in France or the Parliament so to act. No confidence was placed in the personal word or engagements of the King: he had before violated treaties, without hesitation; and broken his faith with many of the Powers of Europe. The ratification by Parliament of the renunciation for himself and his descendants, and of his own right to the Spanish crown was demanded. Accordingly the French Parliament was, some time after, assembled; and, on the 18th of May, 1713, in the most solemn manner, in the assembly of Parliament, with attendant courtiers, the princes of the blood, the bastard princes, and the peers and dignitaries of the realm, these latter renunciations were read and ratified, in solemn and stately procedure. The renunciations having been also ratified and assented to by Louis, by Letters Patent, his assent and the three renunciations were registered in all the Courts of Parliament and Chambers of account, in France; and proclaimed, as acts of State, both in France and Spain.

CHAPTER XXVI.

War during the Progress of the Negotiations.—Action of the Duke of Ormond, commanding the English and other Contingents.—St. John's Instructions to him.—Ormond's secret Advices to Villars.—Ormond's contemptible Position.—His Inaction.—Protest of the "Lords."—Speech of Lord Halifax.—Ormond withdraws his Troops, and an Armistice proclaimed by Queen Anne.—Indignation of the Allies.—Mortification of the English Troops.—Continued Negotiations, in the Summer of 1712.—The War maintained by the Emperor.—Quesnoy taken by Prince Eugene.—The English Troops occupy Dunkirk.—New Demands by England.—Heinsius still opposed to Peace.—Louis hastens the Negotiations.—He urges Villars to fight a Battle.—The decisive Battle of Denain, July, 1712.—Marchiennes, Douay, Quesnoy and Bouchain taken by Villars.—The Quarrel between the Lackeys of the French and Dutch Ambassadors at Utrecht.—Its Effect on Negotiations.

WAR, AND NEW COMPLICATIONS.

WHILE the deliberations at Utrecht were slowly proceeding, the operations of war were being conducted with little activity. When Ormond united his forces with those of Prince Eugene in the Spring, they formed an army of 120,000 men—superior in numbers to those of Villars, and also in the *materiel* of the soldiery; many of Villars' troops being inexperienced recruits, while the men of the Allies were hardened veterans accustomed to success.

In May, 1712, the Allies began to move their troops for the summer campaign: they had outmanœuvred the French, and were preparing to attack Villars, with every prospect of success, when all their plans were disconcerted by intelligence that the Duke of Ormond refused to join, with his British troops and others under his command, in any further hostile operations. The States General, long suspicious of Ormond, had refused to recognize him as Commander-in-chief; and now, justly indignant, sent a written request to him to unite his forces with the others,

for the campaign. He responded, that he had orders not to act—but that the orders were to be kept secret. He was, indeed, placed in a contemptible position. His orders, apparently, were not positive, but rather, as it was intimated to him, that he was to keep quiet—and information of these directions were sent to the French court and to Villars. Secretary St. John had written to Ormond specially, in this regard; instructing him to avoid hazarding a battle, and not to engage in any siege; to which Ormond had replied on the 9th May, as follows: “I am persuaded, with you, that a battle, either lost or won, in the present state of affairs, would cause great interruption to the progress of the treaty. However, you have not forgotten that my instructions are that I should push the war with vigor, in concert with the Allies; so that if a favorable opportunity should present itself for attacking the enemy, I cannot refuse, in case that it is urged by the Prince or the States General. I hope that positive instructions will come before the armies are formed, which will be in two or three days.”

Knowledge of Ormond's instructions and inactivity soon reached England. Complaint was made in Parliament, particularly, that the Allies did not take Cambray, which opened the way into the heart of France; and declaring that the policy of France was fallacious and ensnaring, and that no reliance was to be placed upon her good intentions; that she had made no specific answer to the demands of the Allies, and that great opportunities for conquering a peace were lost; and that, at any rate, proceedings should be kept up until sufficient guaranty was given, by France. Ormond, soon after, received such further instructions from the Ministry, that he entered into a secret correspondence with Villars, declaring that they were no longer enemies, and announced that the future movements of his troops were intended merely for forage and subsistence, and not for offensive operations. Ormond's position now became one of ridicule, not only in the Parliament, but before the English people. Verses were circulated, to the effect that he was merely tending a flock of sheep, ridiculing his posi-

tion, and exalting Marlborough, at Ormond's expense; and caricatures were circulated, in which St. John was represented as putting a padlock on Ormond's sword. Pawlet, in the Lords, in defending Ormond, bitterly attacked Marlborough, who, feeling insulted at Pawlet's insinuations, sent him a challenge—but the Queen forbade the impending duel. Halifax, in the Lords, called for the instructions that had been given Ormond, and moved a resolution that he be directed to act against the enemy; which resolution, under the skilful opposition of the Lord Treasurer, was lost, by a large majority. But a protest of the Whig Lords was issued, denouncing the inaction of Ormond, as dishonorable to the nation, and unjust towards the allies.

The indignant words of Lord Halifax in the House of Lords on the debate on the instructions to Ormond are memorable. After speaking of the glorious success that had attended the armies of the Allies, he continues: "I pity that heroic and gallant general, who, on other occasions, took delight in charging the most formidable corps and strongest squadrons, and cannot but be weary at being fettered with shackles, and thereby prevented from reaping the glory he might well expect from leading troops so accustomed to conquer. I pity the Allies, who have relied upon the aid and friendship of the British nation, perceiving that what they have done, at so great an expense of blood and treasure, is of no effect, as they will be exposed to the revenge of the power against which they have been so active. I pity the Queen, her royal successors, and the present and future generations of Britain; when they shall find the nation deeply involved in debt, and that common enemy, who occasioned it, though once being near sufficiently humbled, does still triumph, and designs their ruin, and is informed that this proceeds from the conduct of the British Cabinet, in neglecting to make a use of those advantages and happy occasions which their own courage, with God's blessing had gained, and put into their hands." Halifax concluded by moving that counter orders should be sent to Ormond, directing him to "act offensively in conjunction with the other Allies against the common enemy." This

motion was seconded in an earnest speech by Marlborough, but the Ministry triumphed, and, as above stated, the motion was lost.

The action or inaction of Ormond, while many opportunities were open for his attacking the French, excited, of course, the highest indignation among the Dutch and other Allies, and they made a strong protest on the subject to the Queen. Prince Eugene was loud in his denunciations, and claimed that England had betrayed them. Ormond felt that his position was an absurd and contemptible one, and he so expressed himself to the English Ministers, but strictly followed his instructions. In the mean while Villars wrote him that he had been notified as to his orders.

After many prevarications, on June 24th, the Duke of Ormond notified Prince Eugene and the Deputies of the States General that he had been directed to proclaim an armistice for two months, as to operations in the Netherlands. He also astounded them with the notification, that, if the Allies did not immediately abandon the siege of Quesnoy then carried on by Eugene, he would separate his troops and all those in the pay of England from the forces of the Allies. He subsequently, with his English troops, took up his quarters at Ghent and Bruges.

The orders of St. John to Ormond to withdraw the troops under his command, not only, in the estimation of the other Allies, left a deep stain on the honor of England, but materially affected the results of the campaign; for to the withdrawal of the British contingent the subsequent successes of Villars were mainly due. These directions of St. John to Ormond formed one of the principal grounds of impeachment against the former, at a subsequent time.

The forces, not only English, but those of the Allies, under Ormond, in English pay, were indignant at their withdrawal from the field and desertion of their Allies. When the suspension of arms was proclaimed at the head of each regiment, the news was received with a burst of indignation: instead of huzzahs and acclamations at the speedy return of peace, a general hiss and murmur was heard throughout the camp—the officers were overwhelmed with

shame and mortification, and keenly felt the disgrace of laying down their arms after their many hard fought and victorious contests. All the troops of the Allies in English pay under Ormond's command, except some Dutch and Holstein troops, had before that time refused to obey his orders, and had indignantly left him: among these were Danes, Prussians, Saxons, and Hanoverians.

The States General in June, sent a strong letter of protest to the Queen against the action of Ormond, and against the declaration by the English Plenipotentiary at Utrecht, that England would take measures for peace apart from the Dutch. A portion of this protest is as follows: "We pray your Majesty to consider, according to your great penetration, whether we have not just ground to be surprised, when we see a stop put, by an order in your Majesty's name, without our knowledge, to the operations of the Confederate Army, the finest and strongest which, perhaps, has been in the field, during the whole course of the war; and provided with all necessaries to act with vigor; and this, after they had marched, according to the resolution taken, in concert with your Majesty's general almost up to the enemy, with a great superiority, both as to number and goodness of troops, and animated with a noble courage and zeal to acquit themselves bravely. So that in all human appearance, and with the Divine assistance, we should have been able, either by battle or siege, to gain great advantages over the enemy, to have bettered the affairs of the Allies, and facilitate the negotiations of peace." After protesting in further strong language, almost of reproach, against the withdrawal of Ormond's forces and England's efforts at a separate peace, the protest thus concludes: "In truth, Madam, if, for such a cause, Potentates, allied and united together by the strictest ties of alliance, interest, and religion, any one of those potentates could quit all their engagements and disengage themselves from all their obligations, there is no tie so strong which may not be broke at any time, and we know of no engagements that could be relied on for time to come." The Queen returned to this missive a curt reply, to the effect that all her intentions, as to peace, would be com-

municated to the States General, "who should cease from their apprehensions."

In the mean while, however, Holland began to perceive the consequences which would result from being left out, if a separate treaty were made with England, and she were deprived of English troops and English subsidies; she consequently became more docile, although the war party in England had still a strong influence upon her and kept up its efforts. The negotiations for a general peace, however, went on with a show of industry, and every proposed article was obstinately contested by Holland and Germany. The substantial reason why Holland and the Emperor were not desirous of peace was, that they did not believe in the sincerity of the French King. They believed no peace could be permanent and advantageous, unless Louis was completely humbled by the allied powers. War, with him, had been a pastime—a gratification of pride and a source of glory. Every war in which he had been, theretofore, engaged, had increased his despotic powers or extended his dominions; and the welfare of Europe, and even of his own people, and the substantial interests of his country, had been secondary considerations to the claims of his ambition. No moral considerations, therefore, were to be relied on, no promises were to be believed, no formal peace was to be trusted—nothing but fierce blows to beat down the turbulent monarch, in his very lair, into a state of permanent submission and degradation. The Grand Pensionary, Heinsius, was particularly indisposed to peace, and the war was kept up. He had inherited all the grand ideas of William III., and liked to play an important rôle in European affairs, and, as one of the despised "*bourgeois*," gloried in continuing the humiliation of the French king.

In the mean while, at Utrecht, the peace was making an apparent, but slow progress, as between France and Great Britain, while the States General seemed to interpose every possible obstacle, and resolved to hold alliance with the Emperor and Savoy; and the separate movement of England continued to excite their indignation. The Emperor and his Allies, meanwhile, continued vigorous pro-

ceedings in the conduct of the war. In July, Eugene took Quesnoy, which surrendered without waiting for a general assault. This was a place of great importance, being a medium of communication for Hainault and Brabant.

The delay in the negotiations, owing to the continued indisposition on the part of Holland to bring the treaty to a conclusion, intimated to England that she would have to make a separate arrangement with France and had therefore caused her to retire her troops from the field. This course she had led France to understand she would take, on condition only that Dunkirk was to be occupied by English troops, pending further negotiations. This plan, it was supposed, would cause Holland to cease to temporize, and compel her, unable to cope, as she would be, with the French forces, to unite in a final and general peace. The English soldiers were admitted into Dunkirk on July 9th, all hostilities having then practically ceased between the troops of France and England. The French King thereupon claimed from England the fulfilment of her pledge no longer to delay the separate peace, as all substantial matters had been agreed on.

A new cause of embarrassment now arose, however, being a demand by England for her ally, the Duke of Savoy, that Sicily should be ceded to the Duke, from the Spanish Dominions: this island Louis XIV. had intended to bestow on the Elector of Bavaria, in return for his services and faithful alliance during the war, and as an indemnification for what he might lose under a general treaty. Under this new demand from England, Louis began to be disposed to enter into a separate treaty with Holland, by which Tournay was to be added to the barrier. He was disposed, however, to concede much to England, as Queen Anne's health was tottering, and his own increasing infirmities warned him that if he was to have a peace for France, he had no time to lose.

In the midst of these delays and complications, an event occurred which, operating powerfully in the interest of Louis, stimulated the ideas of the Allies towards peace.

Although the English troops, to the extent of 18,000

men, had deserted the ranks of the Allies, the army of the latter was still formidable—and they still had great resources, and could fill their ranks after every defeat. France, however, was in a desperate state—further defeat would be her destruction, and peace was a necessity: she experienced great trouble in getting recruits—not only vagabonds and low, debauched persons, but even students of the Universities were seized and marched off to swell the numbers of the victims of war. General Grovestein, despatched by Eugene, with 1500 horsemen, had ravaged Champagne, and spread alarm even at Paris, the troops there being kept in readiness to defend the person of the King. Without allies, without money, and with a disheartened army, Louis, now, thought seriously of abandoning his capital and retreating beyond the Loire. Appreciating his desperate condition, and apprehending that the long negotiations for peace might be abortive, Louis had written a letter to Villars, now his sole reliance, urging him to some great immediate effort.

The spirited words of Louis to his valiant Marshal have come down to us.

“You see where we are,” he wrote, “to conquer or to perish—seek the enemy and fight him.”

“Sire,” replied the Marshal, “it is your last battle.”

“No matter,” replied the King, “if the battle is lost, write to me, privately:—I will mount my horse, pass through Paris, your letter in my hand—I know my French people—I will bring you 200,000 men and I will bury myself, with them, under the ruins of the monarchy. I will make a last effort with you, and we will perish together or save the State—for I will never consent to let the enemy approach my capital.”

Stimulated by the undaunted spirit of the King, the French rallied about his standards, with desperate resolve, and Villars gained the great battle at Denain, fought July 24, 1712. This battle saved France.

Villars, by a false demonstration and skilful manœuvring, had placed Prince Eugene in such a position that he could not assist a portion of his army, under the Earl of Albe-

marle. The French, under Villars and Montesquiou, forced the entrenchment of the Allies, completely defeated them, and took possession of a large quantity of magazines of war, material and provisions. In this engagement a large number of general officers of the allies perished, while the French loss was only 500 men.

As may be well supposed there was great rejoicings, on the receipt of the news of this victory, at Versailles; the sixty standards taken from the enemy were carried to the church of *Nôtre Dame*; and a religious glorification over this great success was celebrated by the Cardinal de Noailles, the Archbishop of Paris, by the express direction of Louis, who in his mandate to him states: "And as such an event is a visible mark of the favor of God, who knows the righteousness of my intentions, I feel bound to render him this special act of thanks."

The taking of Marchiennes, by Villars, a few days after the battle, was important, as in it there were over two hundred pieces of cannon and many other implements of war. Over 6000 prisoners were there captured. Villars, also, moving with alacrity, retook Douay, Quesnoy, Bouchain, and other fortified places, in a period of little over two months. Every step of Villars thereafter assisted in the making of peace. He had indeed saved France.

THE QUARREL AT UTRECHT, JULY, 1712.

Quarrels between the attendants of the various ambassadors were not infrequent at Utrecht: one of them between the lackeys of the Count de Rechteren, one of the Plenipotentiaries of the States General, and those of the Chevalier Menager, a Plenipotentiary of France, gave rise to prolonged discussion, and almost grave results. In consequence of the occurrence, the French King requested of the States General, the recall of Count Rechteren, on the ground, that he, by encouraging and supporting his lackeys, had violated the law of Nations, the niceties of which required that both the Domestic and Coaches of Ambassadors should be as inviolate as the persons and dignity of

their masters. On hearing of the occurrence, Louis sent orders to his Plenipotentiaries to suspend all negotiations about the Peace, until satisfaction was made to them. As this occurred in the midst of the negotiations, it became a matter of no little moment. The *imbroglio* arose in this wise.

On the 27th of July, the news of the battle of Denain was received at Utrecht, and, of course, was a matter of much glorification, on the part of those in the French interest. As the Count de Rechteren and another Dutch Plenipotentiary were passing the house of M. Menager, in a coach, the lackeys and the porter of the latter, standing in front of the house, as was testified in the investigation, hissed and laughed at, with indecent gesticulations, the coach on which were the lackeys of the Dutch Minister. Thereupon the Dutch lackeys complained to their master, who sent his Secretary, to desire reparation for the insult. A meeting of the servants of the French and Dutch Ministers was subsequently proposed to be held at M. Menager's house, in order to hear the testimony of both sides, as to the facts; this meeting M. Menager afterwards refused to join in, alleging that his people denied the facts; and he rather ridiculed the idea of giving any satisfaction; stating, moreover, that he would not have the noise of brawling lackeys in his house. This answer having much exasperated the Dutch Ministers, they sent rather an impudent message to M. Menager, to the effect that he was making a pretence in order to shield the impudence of his domestics. The Dutch lackeys, thereupon took the matter in their own hands, and proceeded to satisfy their wounded honor, by assailing and striking the French servants, and threatened to cut them, with knives. A general *melée* thereupon ensued. It appeared that M. Rechteren, thereupon, openly expressed his satisfaction at the occurrence; asserting that his lackeys did right in redressing their own insults, since their masters could not procure any redress for them. The whole affair was afterwards placed under the solemn deliberation of their "High Mightinesses," the States General; who, after reading all the letters and testimony bearing

upon the matter, which had now become a state affair, resolved, in solemn council, a judgment in these words:

“That affairs being in such a condition, they (their High Mightinesses), do not think it necessary to determine the right or the wrong, that either of the parties may have; but that their High Mightinesses did not believe that a quarrel, of this nature, would have been an obstacle for retarding a work so great as that of Peace. That their High Mightinesses never had any advice of this quarrel between the Lackeys of Monsieur Menager and Monsieur, the Count de Rechteren, before they received the letter, mentioned at the beginning of this resolution; so far were they from giving any order thereupon, to the Count de Rechteren, that, by consequence, they disown all that was done in the matter, without their order. That they could have wished this affair had not been drawn out to so great a length, nor carried before his Most Christian Majesty, but, that since it is so, they persuade themselves, nevertheless, that though they have the misfortune to be at war with the King of France, His Majesty will do them the justice to believe, they never failed in the respect or high esteem which a Republic owes to a great King; and which they always had, and shall have, without ceasing. That they should certainly be very much troubled if his Majesty had other thoughts of them. That to make known, at this time, their desire and inclination for the advancement of the Peace the Count de Rechteren shall be no longer employed as Plenipotentiary, at the Conferences which are to be held for that end, and, that it shall be taken into consideration, according to the custom of our Government, to make a nomination of another Plenipotentiary.”

Some of the Deputies of the States General, not liking the humble tone of the above resolution, refused to give their assent to it; but France carried the day—and the offending Plenipotentiary was removed. Thus ended the burlesque episode of the War of the Lackeys; that, insignificant as it may seem, under the jealousy of national pride, and the delicate susceptibilities of diplomatic inter-

course, threatened, for a time, to cause a rupture of the great negotiations for peace.

The tone of the Resolution of the States General, and the determination of the matter in favor of France was, doubtless, very much due to the results of the battle of Denain. If the occurrence had happened with the scales of victory weighing on their side, as at Ramilies, no such very respectful resolutions would have emanated from their "High Mightinesses."

The heat and persistence displayed by De Rechteren, in the matter, was supposed, by some, to be not without diplomatic reasons. His efforts to triumph over the representatives of the French King, were made, as was thought, in order that his conduct, as a plenipotentiary, might wound the pride, ever keenly susceptible, of the king, and, thereby, induce him to withdraw his plenipotentiaries from Utrecht, so that there might be a rupture of the conferences. The result, however, was to the advantage of France; for the delay, occasioned by the deliberation upon this matter, gave France further time to perfect her outside negotiations with England—thereby giving her new strength in the main conferences.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Feeling in England During the Negotiations.—Resolutions in the Two Houses of Parliament.—Addresses sent to the Queen.—Public Opinion.—Extracts from Dr. Arbuthnot's Celebrated Satire, in behalf of the Tories.

FEELING IN ENGLAND DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE proceedings of the Congress at Utrecht were, in the mean while, watched with grave anxiety and varying feelings in England. On the assent given by the French ministry to the provisions as to the renunciation of the throne of France, by Philip, and that Dunkirk should be occupied, provisionally, by English troops, England was prepared to close the negotiations; and, on June 6th, the agreement for an armistice had been made. In June, 1712, the Queen sent a message to Parliament, rehearsing the condition of negotiations and the difficulties which lay in the way of peace, and specifying the substantial conditions that had been agreed on with the French Court, as preliminaries, so far as England was concerned.

The Commons, thereupon, quite subservient to the Ministry, passed a resolution: "That this House has the utmost confidence in the promise of her Majesty to communicate to it the conditions of Peace, before it is concluded, and this House will sustain Her Majesty, in her efforts to obtain an honorable and firm peace, against all persons, *whether within or without the kingdom, who have tried or will try to hinder it.*" In the House of Lords, however, there was violent opposition and debate: the proposed Treaty was stigmatized as disgraceful, and the articles were ridiculed, in so far, particularly, as they recognized the Bourbons as possessors of the Spanish throne, the exclusion of whom had been the main object of the war—and, it was urged, that instead of the powers of Europe being balanced, the weight was thrown with France: it was urged, too,

that no separate peace should be concluded. The influence of the Court party, however, carried the day, and the original address was adopted by a large majority. A courteous but not enthusiastic response was made to the Queen's address, ending with these words, "And we humbly assure your Majesty that this House relies entirely upon the wisdom of your Majesty to finish this great and good work." The Whig Lords, however, and some of the Tories issued a formal protest, mainly against the making of any separate treaty by England without the allies, and, at the same time, protesting that the offers of France were deceitful and insufficient.

The Parliament was soon after prorogued. At about this time, during the negotiations, and until their conclusion, in order to sustain the Queen and her Ministers, addresses were sent from all over England to the two Houses, urging the conclusion of peace: these addresses or many of them are supposed to have been instigated by the Ministry. It may be interesting to give the text of some few of them, as showing, either the temper of the English people at large on the subject of the Peace, or the ingenuity of the Ministers in having addresses of this character prepared. The address of the Lord Mayor and City Officials of London is dated in June, 1712, and is, partially, in these humble and almost grovelling words:

"We humbly beg leave to approach your Majesty, with a just acknowledgment of your Majesty's most gracious condescension. We want words to express our gratitude to your Majesty for the care you have taken of the Protestant succession, as by law established in the House of Hanover, the steady pursuit of the true interests of your own kingdoms, and the satisfaction of your allies, *maugre all the difficulties which have been artfully contrived to obstruct the same.*"

Similar addresses poured in from cities, boroughs and towns, great and small, throughout the kingdom, and some even from the American Colonies. The following composition from the University of Oxford is a curious specimen of the canting "loyalty" of that learned body.

“It is the common happiness of all your subjects, that your Majesty has, of late, been attended by persons whose counsels have gone along with your own most gracious disposition. But, it is our peculiar honor that one of the sacred order, bred among us, is employed by your Majesty in business agreeable to his Holy Function—the treating a Peace—whilst our Chancellor, himself, is at the head of your Majesty’s troops, ready to oblige the enemy, by arms, to accept such terms as you have thought fit to offer; from whence we hope to reap that fruit of righteousness which is sown in peace, of them that make Peace. May God grant your Majesty a long enjoyment of that blessedness on Earth, which is the genuine as well as the promised effect of your own meekness and your gentle government, and whenever your Majesty shall be taken from us, (a calamity which we dare not think of), may the Immortal Crown of Glory be the reward of your unparalleled piety towards God, affection to his Church and goodness to your people.”

The manly address of the City of Wells is in excellent contrast to the above effusions.

“Most Gracious Sovereign: We, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Mayor, Burgesses, etc., of Wells, with the utmost gratitude, acknowledge your Majesty’s great goodness, in endeavoring to procure, after a long and expensive war, a safe and honorable peace. That your Majesty may bring the same to a speedy conclusion, and live long to enjoy the blessings of it, are the hearty wishes and prayers of, Madam, your Majesty’s most loyal and dutiful subjects.”

The following extract from a grandiloquent address from the inhabitants and Burgesses of Edinburgh, in December, 1712, is remarkable. The address begins with the usual sling at Marlborough and Eugene. It speaks of a “designing few who gained by the war, and were determined to perpetuate our miseries, by endeavoring, for their own private ends, to entail poverty, desolation and war upon generations to come.” The address thus concludes: “A Peace is now very near concluded, in defiance of an un-

grateful, interested spirit that has seized on some of your allies abroad, especially those whose precarious *grandure*, and most towering hopes so much depend upon your Majesty, and of a restless disaffected faction at home, by whose inhuman and hellish contrivances the death of your chief minister has been twice attempted,* and as we have too much reason to suspect, that of an high and illustrious patriot effected." "That the power of the Devil and rage of his emissaries may make no further advances to the throne, that your Majesty's sacred life may be guarded by Heaven, and that you may long continue the darling of your people, the terror of your foes, the umpire of Europe, the Restorer of Right, the Avenger of Wrong, and the nursing mother of our unspotted Church, ever the same, and ever advised by such a Parliament, and served by such a Ministry as the present is the most hearty and sincere prayer, etc."

Up to the time of William III. no animadversion on public men or measures, by way of remonstrance from the people, was tolerated; and undue criticism was deemed treasonable: during his reign, however, the English people at large, had begun to be a noticeable and potential factor in public affairs, and under Queen Anne, popular influence was of no little account in shaping governmental action. And yet, as in Sacheverell's case, hostile comments on government or its measures were attended with no little risk, and Ministers owed much of their strength and independence to their power to prevent and punish hostile criticism. The numerous addresses in favor of peace, therefore, endorsing the policy of the administration, cannot be considered as fairly expressing public opinion on the subject, while Ministers had still the will and the power to restrain the expression of public sentiment, when adverse to their views.

It would have been difficult, in fact, to determine what was, in reality, any general public sentiment on any subject at this time, among the people of England—there were not

* This is an allusion to an attack upon Harley, by one Guiscard, a French Refugee and Adventurer, who stabbed the Minister, with a pen-knife, in the Council Chamber.

only parties but shades of parties—moving, some of them, in the dark—the petty public Press manifested and represented no views, and the weekly Essays and occasional pamphlets of the time expressed the opinions of a few, and were too much under the bias of party and the control of party men to be fair exponents of public thought.

The return of members of Parliament would of course be strongly indicative of public opinions: but this was of occasional occurrence and kept no step with the changing circumstances and varying interests of the time, manipulated, as they were, by keen partisans, who, operating in a small circle in and about the Court and Capital, were able to outstrip all public sentiment and act before it had time to give itself expression.

It is quite different in these days of free speech, free press and cheap postage, when steam and lightning not only give their aid to illumine the popular mind in regions both near and far from the seat of public affairs, but give it speedy utterance—and, consequently, power.

In a letter or despatch written by a foreign minister in England, to Mr. Petticum, in 1710, found among the Somers tracts, the four parties in England at this time are thus tersely described:

“1st. The Tories are those who firmly adhere to the monarchical government, under its legal limitations and restrictions, and to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church of England; and who, upon old grudges and animosities look on the dissenters as their declared enemies.

“2d. The party of the Whigs, or low Churchmen, is made up of such churchmen as have a brotherly tenderness for the dissenters, and of the dissenters themselves: and both these are also for the monarchy—though perhaps in a more restricted sense than the other.

“3d. The Jacobites consist of some members of the Church of England, and of all the Roman Catholics of the Kingdom; the first of whom, upon a principle of conscience, the others of duty, inclination and interest did constantly adhere to the late King James; and, as far as in them lay, promoted his restoration as they now do that of

the Pretender. This party is, of itself, hardly considerable enough to be mentioned, or taken notice of, but that upon all public occasions, they intrude themselves upon and mix with the High Churchmen; who, though they differ in principle and are firmly zealous for the Protestant succession, yet in elections do not scruple to accept their votes; the rather because their competitors, the Whigs, do also fortify themselves by the fourth party, *viz.* :

"4th. The Republican or Commonwealth men. This party, a spawn of the old Cromwellists, consists of a few Presbyterians and all the Independents of this nation, who would make no matter of figure, themselves, but that they join themselves with the true Whigs; though with as small encouragement from them as the Whigs receive from the high churchmen, and with as little conforming to their political principles.

"From these intrusions, it comes to pass, that upon any contention and disputes that arise between the two great parties of this nation, the Tories and Whigs mutually asperse one another with the odious appellations of the minor party, which sometimes lurks among them; so that the Tories call the Whigs Republicans, and the Whigs call the Tories Jacobites."

EXTRACT FROM DR. ARBUTHNOT'S SATIRE.

Although somewhat intrenching upon the gravity of serious historical narrative, it may not be out of place to give, here, an extract from Dr. Arbuthnot's celebrated *jeu d'esprit* called "*Law is a bottomless pit, or the History of John Bull*," as illustrating one set of opinions on the questions pending at Utrecht. The effect of this satire, it is related, was wonderful; as it was admirably adapted to the purpose in view; and its humor commended itself to minds of every capacity; it appeared in successive parts, and did much to divert the popular mind from the brilliant but illusory successes of the war, towards the solid advantages of peace.

It placed before the People the great questions which

affected their own prosperity as well as the national interests, in a broad, plain light, and with an ingenious art that seemed to present no argument and urge no views, but which, in effect, under the guise of a humorous picture of public affairs, was in powerful advocacy of peace. The Satire is generally included in the published works of Swift; and, probably, his lively humor and trenchant pen had something to do with its composition.

In this *brochure* the War of the Succession is humorously described as "John Bull's great law suit." The extract gives a burlesque account of the nature of the proceedings at Utrecht, the trouble in bringing about a meeting of the parties engaged in the "Law suit," and the difficulty of inducing the Dutch to speak their sentiments, and to make the French deliver in their answers. The haughty tone and pretensions of the House of Austria are also adroitly ridiculed.

OF SOME EXTRAORDINARY THINGS THAT PASSED AT THE
SALUTATION TAVERN, IN THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN
BULL, FROG, ESQUIRE SOUTH, AND LEWIS BABOON.

Nic. Frog* had given his word that he would meet the above mentioned company at the "Salutation," to talk of this agreement. Though he durst not directly break his appointment, he made many a shuffling excuse—one time he pretended to be seized with the gout in his right knee—then he got a great cold, that had struck him deaf of one ear, afterward, two of his coach-horses fell sick, and he durst not go by water, for fear of catching an ague. John† would take no excuse, but hurried him away: "Come, Nic.," says he, "let's go and hear, at least, what this old fellow has to propose. I hope there is no hurt in that." "Be it so," quoth Nic., "but if I catch any harm, woe be to you; my wife and children will curse you as long as they live." When they were come to the "Salutation," John concluded all was sure, then; and that he should be troubled no more with law affairs; he thought everybody as plain and sin-

* Holland.

† England.

cere as he was. "Well, neighbors," quoth he, "let's now make an end of all matters, and live peaceably together, for the time to come: if everybody is as well inclined as I, we shall quickly come to the upshot of our affair." And so, pointing to Frog to say something, to the great surprise of all the company, Frog was seized with the dead palsy in the tongue. John began to ask him some plain questions, and whooped and halloed in his ear. "Let's come to the point, Nic.! Who wouldest thou have to be Lord Strutt? * Wouldest thou have Philip Baboon?" † Nic. shook his head and said nothing. "Wilt thou then have Esquire South ‡ to be Lord Strutt?" Nic. shook his head a second time. "Then who the devil wilt thou have?—say something or another." Nic. opened his mouth, and pointed to his tongue, and cried, "*A, a, a, a!*" which was as much as to say he could not speak. John Bull—"Shall I serve Philip Baboon with broadcloth, and accept of the composition that he offers, with the liberty of his parks and fish-ponds?" Then Nic. roared like a bull, "*O, o, o, o!*" John Bull—"If thou wilt not let me have them, wilt thou take them thyself?" Then Nic. grinned, cackled, and laughed, till he was like to kill himself, and seemed to be so pleased that he fell a frisking and dancing about the room. John Bull—"Shall I leave all this matter to thy management, Nic., and go about my business?" Then Nic. got up a glass, and drank to John, shaking him by the hand, till he had like to have shook his shoulder out of joint. John Bull—"I understand thee, Nic., but I shall make thee speak, before I go." Then Nic. put his finger in his cheek, and made it cry Buck!—which was as much as to say, "I care not a farthing for thee." John Bull—"I have done, Nic.; if thou wilt not speak, I'll make my own terms with old Lewis § here." Then Nic. lolled out his tongue, and turned up his back to him. John, perceiving that Frog could not speak, turns to old Lewis:—"Since we cannot make this obstinate fellow speak, Lewis, pray condescend a little to his humor, and

* King of Spain.

† Philip of Anjou.

‡ The Emperor.

§ Louis XIV.

set down thy meaning upon paper, that he may answer it in another scrap."

"I am infinitely sorry," quoth Lewis, "that it happens so unfortunately: for playing a little at cudgels, t'other day, a fellow has given me such a rap over the right arm, that I am quite lame—I have lost the use of my forefinger and my thumb, so that I cannot hold my pen."

John Bull—"That's all one—let me write for you."

Lewis—"But I have a misfortune, that I cannot read anybody's hand but my own."

John Bull—"Try what you can do with your left hand."

Lewis—"That's impossible; it will make such a scrawl, that it will not be legible."

As they were talking of this matter, in came Esquire South* all dressed up, in feathers and ribbons—stark, staring mad—brandishing his sword, as if he would have cut off their heads; crying, "Room!—room!—boys, for the grand Esquire of the world!—the flower of esquires!—What!—covered in my presence?—I'll crush your souls, and crack you, like lice!" With that he had like to have struck John Bull's hat into the fire; but John, who was pretty strong fisted, gave him such a squeeze as made his eyes water. He went on still in his mad pranks: "When I am lord of the universe, the sun shall prostrate and adore me! Thou, Frog, shall be my bailiff—Lewis my tailor—and thou, John Bull, shalt be my fool!"

All this while, Frog laughed in his sleeve, gave the Esquire t'other noggin of brandy, and clapped him on the back, which made him ten times madder.

Poor John stood, in amaze, talking thus to himself: "Well, John, thou art got into rare company! One has a dumb devil, t'other a mad devil, and a third a spirit of infirmity. An honest man has a fine time on't among such rogues. What art thou asking of them, after all? Some mighty boon, one would think!—only to sit quietly at thy own fireside.—'Sdeath, what have I to do with such fellows?"

* The Archduke was now become Emperor of Germany, being unanimously elected upon the death of Joseph the First.

“John Bull, after all his losses and crosses, can live better without them, than they can without him. Would to God I lived a thousand leagues off them !—but the devil’s in’t ; John Bull is in, and John Bull must get out as well as he can.” As he was talking to himself, he observed Frog and old Lewis edging toward one another, to whisper ; * so that John was forced to sit with his arms a-kimbo to keep them asunder. Some people advised John to blood Frog under the tongue, or take away his bread and butter ; which would certainly make him speak ; and to give Esquire South hellebore—as for Lewis, some were for emollient poultices ; others for opening his arm with an incision knife.

* * * * *

I think I left John Bull sitting between Nic. Frog and Lewis Baboon, with his arms a-kimbo, in great concern to keep Lewis and Nic. asunder.† As watchful as he was, Nic. found the means, now and then, to steal a whisper, and by a cleanly contrivance under the table, to slip a short note into Lewis’ hand ; which Lewis as slyly put into John’s pocket, with a pinch or a jog, to warn him what he was about.

John had the curiosity to retire into a corner to peruse these *billets doux* of Nic.’s ; wherein he found, that Nic. had used great freedom both with his interest and reputation. One contained these words :

“Dear Lewis: Thou seest clearly, that this blockhead can never bring his matters to bear ; let me and thee talk to-night, by ourselves, at the ‘Rose,’ and I will give thee satisfaction.”

Another was thus expressed:—“Friend Lewis, has thy sense quite forsaken thee, to make Bull such offers?—Hold fast—part with nothing—and I will give thee a better bargain, I’ll warrant thee.”

In some of his billets, he told Lewis, that John Bull was under his guardianship—that the best part of his servants

* Some attempts at secret negotiations between the French and the Dutch.

† Some offers of the Dutch at that time, in order to get the negotiations into their own hands.

were under his command—that he could have John gagged and bound, whenever he pleased, by the people of his own family.

In all these epistles, blockhead, dunce, ass, coxcomb, were the best epithets he gave poor John. In others he threatened * that he, Esquire South, and the rest of the tradesmen would lay Lewis down upon his back, and beat out his breath if he did not retire immediately, and break up the meeting.

I fancy that I need not tell my readers that John often changed color as he read; and that his fingers itched to give Nic. a good slap on the chops: but he wisely moderated his choleric temper.

“I saved this fellow,” quoth he, “from the gallows, when he ran away from his last master,† because I thought he was harshly treated; but the rogue was no longer safe under my protection, than he began to lie, pilfer and steal, like the devil. When I first set him up, in a warm house, he had hardly put up his sign, when he began to debauch my best customers from me. Then it was his constant practice to rob my fish ponds; not only to feed his family but to trade with the fish mongers: I censured the fellow, till he began to tell me, that they were his as much as mine.

“In my manor of ‡ East Cheap, because it lay at some distance from my constant inspection, he broke down my fences, robbed my orchards, and beat my servants. When I used to reprimand him for his tricks, he would talk saucily, lie, and brazen it out, as if he had done nothing amiss. ‘Will nothing cure thee of thy pranks, Nic.?’ quoth I. ‘I shall be forced, some time or other, to chastise thee. The rogue got up his cane and threatened me, and was well thrashed for his pains. But I think his conduct, at this time, worse than all. After I have almost drowned myself

* Threat that the allies would carry on the war without England.

† The King of Spain, whose yoke the Dutch threw off.

‡ Complaints against the Dutch, for encroachments in trade, fishery in the East Indies, etc. The English war with the Dutch, on these accounts.

to keep his head above water, he would leave me sticking in the mud, trusting to his goodness to help me out.

“After I have beggared myself with his troublesome lawsuit—with a pox to him!—he takes it in mighty dudgeon, because I have brought him here to end matters amicably; and because I wont let him make me over, by deed and indenture, as his lawful cully; which to my certain knowledge he has attempted several times. But, after all, canst thou gather grapes from thorns? Nic. does not pretend to be a gentleman—he is a tradesman, a self-seeking wretch—but how camest thou to bear all this, John?—The reason is plain; thou conferrest the benefits, and he receives them; the first produces love, and the last ingratitude. Ah! Nic., Nic., thou art a damned dog!—that’s certain,—thou knowest too well that I will take care of thee; else thou wouldst not use me thus. I wont give thee up, it is true; but as true as it is, thou shalt not sell me, according to thy laudable custom.”

While John was deep in this soliloquy, Nic. broke out into the following protestation:

“Gentlemen: I believe everybody here present will allow me to be a very just and disinterested person. My friend John Bull here, is very angry with me, forsooth—because I wont agree to his foolish bargains. Now I declare to all mankind, I should be ready to sacrifice my own concerns to his quiet, but the care of his interest, and that of the honest tradesmen* that are embarked with us, keeps me from entering into this composition. What shall become of those poor creatures? The thought of their impending ruin disturbs my night’s rest; therefore I desire they may speak for themselves. If they are willing to give up this affair, I shan’t make two words of it.”

John Bull begged him to lay aside that immoderate concern for him; and withal, put him in mind, that the interest of those tradesmen had not sat quite so heavy upon him, some years ago, on a like occasion. Nic. answered little to that, but immediately pulled out a boatswain’s whistle. Upon the first whiff, the tradesmen came jumping

* The Allies.

into the room, and began to surround Lewis, like so many yelping curs about a great boar; or, to use a modester simile, like duns at a great lord's levée, the morning he goes into the country. One pulled him by his sleeve, another by the skirt, a third halloed in his ear; they began to ask him for all that had been taken from their forefathers by stealth, fraud, force, or lawful purchase—some asked for manors, others for acres, that lay convenient for them—that he would pull down his fences, level his ditches—all agreed in one common demand, that he should be purged, sweated, vomited, and starved till he came to a sizeable bulk, like that of his neighbors. One modestly asked him leave to call him "brother;" Nic. Frog demanded two things, to be his porter and his fishmonger, to keep the keys of his gates, and furnish the kitchen. John's sister Peg* only desired that he would let his servants sing psalms a Sundays. Some descended even to the asking of old clothes, shoes and boots, broken bottles, tobacco-pipes and ends of candles.

"Monsieur Bull," quoth Lewis, "you seem to be a man of some breeding;—for God's sake, use your interest with these Messieurs, that they would speak, but one at once—for if one had a hundred pair of hands, and as many tongues, he cannot satisfy them all, at this rate." John begged they might proceed with some method: then they stopped all of a sudden, and would not say a word. "If this be your play," quoth John, "that we may not be like a quaker's dumb meeting, let us begin some diversion; what d'ye think of rolly poly, or a country dance? What if we should have a match at foot-ball? I am sure we shall never end matters, at this rate."

At about the beginning of the ensuing year, (1713,) the sentence of Sacheverell, the Tory pulpit advocate, who had been interdicted from preaching for three years, expired. The Doctor, with characteristic regard for his personal notoriety, celebrated the event of the release of his tongue

* The Protestants.

from its enforced silence, by preaching a sermon, with the modest text, as applicable to himself, of "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"!—He received for his vocal martyrdom, a fat Westminster "living." Swift, the other political divine, was, also, for his performances, as general slanderer of persons and parties, promoted to the Deanery of St. Patrick's, although he had fixed his ambition on a Bishopric. Queen Anne and her Ministers, however, thought it would be going too far, to make him a successor of the apostles.

In allusion to Swift's elevation to his Deanery, another witty Irish Dean of the period * gave vent to the following epigram :

"This place he got, by wit and rhyme,
And many ways most odd ;
And might a Bishop be, in time—
Did he believe in God !"

* The Dean of Clogher.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Continued Negotiations during the Summer and Autumn of 1712.—The French Plenipotentiaries become Exacting.—Arrogant Speech by them to the Dutch Envoys.—St. John's Private Negotiations with De Torcy.—He is created Viscount Bolingbroke.—His Secret Mission to France.—Bolingbroke's Despatches to Prior.—Pretensions of France.—Intrigues of the Dutch.—New Delays by France.—Further Despatches to Prior.—*Ultimata* of England.—Perplexity of the Plenipotentiaries.—The Treaties finally Signed.

IN the mean while, St. John kept up his private negotiations with the Court of France. On June 7, after the first armistice had been agreed on, he wrote to De Torcy, the French Minister, expressing his confidence in the good faith of the French King, but telling him that it was necessary to hasten the peace; and that "*it would frighten the Dutch into it*, to be told that the Queen would no longer act against France; and that, if they (the Dutch) do not hasten to make their agreement they will have a burden upon their backs greater than they can bear."

The success of the French at Denain, the raising of the siege of Landresies, the taking of Bouchain, Marchiennes, Douay and Quesnoy, and several minor successes, in taking stores of war, gave such new *morale* to the French that they raised their ideas to such an extent, that the Dutch Plenipotentiaries threatened to retire and break off negotiations; and so signified their intentions to the French diplomatic agents: but, relying upon English support, the Frenchmen derided the threat, and the astute Abbé Polignac abruptly replied: "Gentlemen, you must change your style—according to circumstances. We will not leave here—and we will make a treaty—in your own country—about you—and without you." In the terse French words the rejoinder was, "*Messieurs, Les circonstances sont changées*

—*Il faut changer de ton : Nous traiterons chez vous—de vous—et sans vous.*" *

As to affairs in England, Parliament had been dissolved, in July, 1712, and the Queen had created St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

Even after the brilliant successes of Villars, in the Campaign of 1712, the Dutch and the other continental allies still continued firm in their opposition to peace, unless it were dictated to France, sword in hand. The decease of the Dauphins had much embarrassed and delayed action, at Utrecht; and the victory at Denain and the subsequent successes of the French had also placed matters in such an aspect, that the French were encouraged to promote further delays, in order to make more advantageous terms for France. To settle these and other matters, Bolingbroke, proceeded secretly to the Court of France, in company with the skilful negotiators, Gaultier and Prior. Bolingbroke's instructions were of such a character that he had authority to conclude a separate peace between England, France, Spain, and Savoy; and he, consequently, arranged terms with reference to those countries, with little regard to the claims of the other allied States. On Bolingbroke leaving France, so pleased was Louis with his efforts, that he presented him with a very valuable diamond ring—a dangerous gift under the circumstances. Bolingbroke departed on the 28th of August (N. S.), leaving Prior to close details. These related to the forms of the renunciations, and to regulations to prevent the union of the two Crowns, and also to several provisions for the Treaty of Commerce. These private negotiations of Bolingbroke with De Torcy and the Court of France were, subsequently, matters of grave charge against the former. He was, in after years, and

* In a letter, written by the Abbé Polignac to M. de Torcy, after the battle of Denain, he thus expressed himself with respect to the attitude taken by the French Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, under the new aspect of affairs :

“ Le Comte Zinzendorf sent vivement sa decadence. Nous prenons, à Utrecht, la figure que les Hollandais avaient à Gertruydenberg, et ils prennent la nôtre ; c'est une revanche bien complète.”

with much plausibility, accused of having carried on a private treaty with France, with having betrayed the interests of the Allies, and with having communicated the secrets of the Council Chamber to the French Ministers, to the advantage of France. It was charged also that he had advocated the continuance of the Duke of Anjou on the Spanish throne. He was further accused of favoring the return of the Stuarts; to which last accusation his subsequent conduct in France gave strong support.

On the 9th August, 1712, the second and general armistice for the cessation of all hostilities was signed, at Paris, between France, Spain and England, extending from the 22d of August to the 22d of December. This provided also that the English troops should be withdrawn from Spain, and that the Spaniards should immediately cause the blockade of Gibraltar to be raised. Armistices were also at subsequent times, declared, and, from time to time, continued, for the suspension of arms, by Portugal and Savoy. Bolingbroke's letter to Prior, of September, 1712, indicates that the Conferences at Utrecht were quite subordinate to his outside negotiations. "Let the Conferences," he writes, "begin as soon as they can. I dare say business will not be very speedily despatched in them. In the mean time, we shall go on to ripen everything for a conclusion between Holland and Savoy, France and Spain—and this is the true point of view which the French ought to have before their eyes." In the autumn of 1712, Bolingbroke also thus wrote to Prior: "You will be, very shortly, particularly and fully instructed to settle the articles of North America, and those points of Commerce still undetermined. *That done, the Ministers may sign at Utrecht*, as soon as they can hear from Lord Lexington."

The above despatches show that the Ministers at Utrecht stood very much in the light of puppets, and that they were allowed merely to put in shape what might be determined, elsewhere. In another part of the letter, Bolingbroke writes, "For God's sake, dear Matt, hide the nakedness of thy country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with, to the blunders of thy countrymen,

who are not much better Politicians than the French are poets."

Meanwhile, affairs at Utrecht were fluctuating; sometimes councils of peace prevailed, and all troubles seemed to roll up from the field of European politics—when, suddenly, some unexpected cloud would appear, and obscure the bright vision still hovering in the skies. Finally, towards the close of the year, there seemed an earnest desire on the part of most of the Plenipotentiaries to conclude the session and establish the Peace. They were wearied with the long and stormy deliberations and harassed by instructions and counter-instructions from their respective courts. Apprehensive lest some new event might change the aspect of affairs and overturn what had been so far accomplished, the lesser powers anxiously waited to follow the lead of the great States, until whose action nothing could be determined.

France by her alliance with England, and her recent successes in the field, had an increased diplomatic strength and influence in the conferences; and she was disposed still to dictate, with some arrogance, what she had never before ventured to advocate. The experienced diplomatists who superintended the French interests at Paris, well knew that they had a strong hold on the English Ministers, who had their tenure of office only on the basis of their concluding a peace; any failure so to do, and that speedily, would have precipitated them, at once, from power. The Frenchmen took advantage of this, and to further their ends, endeavored to compel the English ministry to make the peace on the basis of ever increasing demands and exactions. France, now, was in a very much more prosperous condition than at the time of the negotiations at Gertruydenberg. Her army was invigorated and again had the prestige of success; her people were richer, and her statesmen consequently became again aggressive. She had, during the last year, according to the old policy, pushed forward her troops and increased her territories, and seemed still inclined to a Fabian policy, as regards negotiation for peace, with a view to gaining, by delay, more advantageous terms.

She now had control in the negotiation, and her old arrogance returned. This had been specially manifested in the position taken by her, in the settlement of the singular quarrel at Utrecht, before referred to: but the Dutch still remained obstinate, and persisted in their opposition to peace, on the terms advocated by England.

The French now insisted on the restitution of Tournay as well as Lisle, which the British plenipotentiaries were not inclined to allow: and the Dutch stoutly held out, claiming Tournay as essential to their barrier, and urging that the Queen, in her speech, had stated that it was to be retained for them. The French still insisted, however, in their opposition; and the English Ministers avoided the dilemma, in a sneaking way, by deserting the Dutch, and saying that they would leave the question to be settled between them and the French. But the Dutch were so violent and determined, that they at last succeeded in maintaining Tournay as part of their barrier, but it was only upon increased concessions made to France, in other regards. The British Ministers now endeavored to influence the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover to take sides with them, in making the peace as proposed: but both of the above Princes flatly refused to desert the Dutch and the Emperor.

In October, 1712, the Dutch began to propound their own schemes for a Treaty, relating mainly to their barrier and the proposed commercial tariff with France and Spain: the desertion from the alliance of the Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal having precipitated their ideas towards peace. In the mean while, November 5th (N. S.), Philip had signed and sworn to his renunciation, which was formally enacted into a law by the Cortes. On the 20th of November, the Earl of Strafford was sent to the Hague, with a new plan of peace based upon the French demands, with instructions, that unless the Dutch were willing to sign the Treaties in conjunction with England, immediately and without delay, the Queen would sign with France, without waiting longer than three weeks for the assent of the Dutch. If the Dutch did not sign, it was

declared that England would no longer assist them in the retention of Tournay. Finally, at the end of Dec., 1712, the States General announced their willingness to give their consent to the Queen's plan, and yielded all their pretensions to various suggested changes, particularly for the restoring of Strasburg to the Empire, and for adding Condé to their barrier, which France had absolutely refused to allow.

The French now, everything being apparently settled, began to try to elude their engagements with England and to insist on other terms. "They act neither fairly nor wisely," wrote Bolingbroke to Prior, who was still in France. "They pray us," he writes, "to conclude, so that they may have others at their mercy; and, at the same time, they chicane with us, concerning the most essential article of our treaty, and endeavor to elude an agreement made, repeated, and confirmed." By reason of the new delays the cessation of arms had to be again continued for another four months.

The fishery question and some provisions relating to commerce were now the principal causes of delay, and to overcome this, the British ministers sent over a substitute for certain articles in the proposed Treaty of Commerce, to which the astute De Torcy, seeing it was for the advantage of France, immediately assented. This substitution was article 9 of the treaty of commerce; and was supposed to be a sop thrown in by Oxford and Bolingbroke to induce the French to close the matter. By this substitution, the English ministry gave up certain important points of dispute as to North America and the fishery of Newfoundland. These substitutions in the Treaty of Commerce, Parliament, and a Whig administration, afterwards, indignantly refused to carry into operation.

The British Ministry were still much disturbed by the delay yet interposed, and the double dealing of France. On January 19, 1713, Bolingbroke thus wrote to Prior—"I have exhausted all my stock of arguments in the long letter, which, by the Queen's order, I write to the Duke of Shrewsbury. To you I can only add, we stand on the

brink of a precipice—but the French stand there too. Pray, tell M. de Torcy, from me, that he may get *Robin* and *Harry** *hanged*; but affairs will soon run back into so much confusion, that he will wish us alive again. To speak seriously, unless the Queen can talk of her interests as determined with France, and unless *your court* will keep our allies in the wrong, as they are sufficiently at this time, I foresee inextricable difficulties. My scheme is this: Let France fairly satisfy the Queen—and let the Queen immediately declare to Parliament that she is ready to sign; and, at the same time, let the French Plenipotentiaries show a disposition to treat with all the Allies.”

The letter then enumerates the several offers France should make the Allies, and continues, “If such overtures as these made to the allies were not instantly accepted, our separate Peace would, the Parliament sitting, be addressed for and approved—and the cause of France, for once, become popular in Britain. If they were accepted, let M. de Torcy consider what a bargain would be made for France. *Let him remember his journey to the Hague, and compare the plans of 1709 and 1712!* M. de Torcy has a confidence in you—make use of it, once for all, upon this occasion—and convince him, thoroughly, that we must give a different turn to our Parliament and our People, according to their resolution, at this crisis.”

In January, 1713, also, Bolingbroke, learning that the Dutch were still intriguing for a separate treaty with France, thus emphatically wrote to Prior: “We are now at the true crisis of our disease—we die at once or recover at once. Let France depart from that shameful expedient by which they thought to bubble us out of the advantages which they had solemnly yielded, and all is well—otherwise, by G—d, both they and we are undone. The Queen can neither delay the meeting of the Parliament longer than the 3d, nor speak to the Houses till we hear from you.—Make the French ashamed of their sneaking chicane.—By Heaven, they treat like Pedlars, or which is worse, like Attorneys.”

* Oxford and Bolingbroke.

Bolingbroke, in February thereafter, also sent a peremptory despatch to the Duke of Shrewsbury, then on a special mission to Paris, to the effect that if there were any more delays he would put a stop to all negotiations. Finally, irritated and disturbed, apprehensive of the issue of a new campaign, and determined to play a strong card, the English Ministry sent their *ultimata* to Paris, on every proposition in dispute; this gave such stimulus to the French Court, apprehensive, in their turn, of a rupture of negotiations, that they became more moderate in their views, and more desirous to settle the terms of pacification. At length, the Duke of Shrewsbury, having written to the English ministry that France had given its adhesion to the last article in dispute, relative to the American fisheries, the English Plenipotentiaries, at Utrecht, were instructed to conclude the Treaties of Peace and Commerce with France, without any further delay. The French, however, were still so arrogant in their pretensions and varying in their demands, that, even although the British Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were positively instructed to make and sign the peace, they hesitated so to do, alleging that their powers were not sufficiently explicit, as to making a separate peace; and wrote to Bolingbroke in April, 1713, asserting "that the behavior of the French was so different than what had been promised, that they were mightily perplexed, and that they could say a great deal to justify their cautious proceedings with the French, and were satisfied that he would be of the same opinion, if he could see their way of negotiating with the allies." A new commission was thereupon sent, with orders both from the Lord Treasurer and Bolingbroke, that the *final Treaty should be made at once*.

The English Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, thereupon, issued a manifesto to those of the other great Powers at the Congress, notifying them that they intended to conclude their treaties with France, immediately; and recommended the other Plenipotentiaries to close their treaties with that country, without further delay. A main consideration for this urgency on the part of the British Minis-

ters was the fact that the health of Queen Anne was failing, and her demise at any time was not improbable: that event would have placed the house of Hanover and the Whigs in control of the State; and would have disturbed, and possibly have prevented, all further negotiations for Peace. The future King of England was no friend of France: he had strong sympathies with the Whigs, and suspected the Tories of Jacobite proclivities and intrigues to exclude him from the throne. He sympathized also with Marlborough, in his disgrace, and longed to be in England to chastise the party leaders who were instrumental in furthering a peace on a basis which caused the desertion of her allies, by England, and which, under its then conditions, he deemed disgraceful to that country.

The conclusion was now precipitated. The Treaties—everything having been agreed on—were hurriedly put in shape, and all feared some new *contretemps*, which might create further embarrassment.

The complicated negotiations connected with the Spanish succession, and the settlement of the terms of Peace, after the great war of ten years' duration, were now finally brought to a close, and the determinations of the contracting parties formulated into the Treaty or set of Treaties commonly known as the "*Treaty of Utrecht*," were made the subject of solemn compact. The Treaty between England and France, and that of France with Savoy were signed at the house of the Bishop of Bristol; and the others at the house of the Earl of Strafford; where, we are told, that some dispute having arisen, as to the substitution of certain phrases, the matter was settled between the English and French Plenipotentiaries by the *throwing of dice*!—so indisposed were they to further verbal debate. It was observed that some of the representatives of the States General signed with reluctant and somewhat trembling hands.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Digest of the Text of the Various Treaties.—Treaty with England.—Holland.—Portugal.—Prussia.—Savoy, and other States at Utrecht.—Subsequent Treaties between England and Spain; Germany and France.—The Barrier Treaty.—Holland and the Emperor.—Spain and Portugal.—Memorial of the Protestants.

TREATY WITH ENGLAND.

THE main great Treaty was that of the 31st of March, or, according to the new style, 11th April, 1713, between France and England.

The text of this important compact thus begins :

“Whereas, it has pleased Almighty God, for the glory of his name and for the Universal Welfare, so to direct the minds of Kings, for the healing, now in his own time, the miseries of the wasted world, that they are disposed towards one another with a mutual desire of making Peace—Be it therefore known, to all and singular whom it may concern, that, under the divine guidance, the Most Serene and the Most Potent, Lady Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, *France* and Ireland, and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince and Lord, Louis XIV., by the Grace of God, the most Christian King, consulting as well, the advantages of their subjects, as providing (as well as mortals are able to do), for the perpetual tranquillity of the whole Christian World, have resolved, at last, to put an end to the war which was unhappily kindled, and has been obstinately carried on above these ten years—being both cruel and destructive, by reason of the frequency of battles and the effusion of Christian blood—and have appointed,” etc.—(Here follow the names of the Plenipotentiaries, with all their resounding titles.)

The Treaty then declares that the said Plenipotentiaries have been furnished “with full and ample power to Treat, agree of, and conclude, a firm and lasting Peace between

their Royal Majesties. . . . Wherefore, the aforesaid Ambassadors, after divers and important consultations, had in the Congress held at Utrecht, for that purpose, having, at length, overcome, without the intervention of any mediator, all the obstacles which hindered the end of so wholesome a design ; and having invoked the Divine Assistance, that God will be pleased to preserve this their work entire and unviolated, and to prolong it, to the last Posterity ; after having mutually communicated and duly exchanged their full Powers, have agreed on the reciprocal conditions of Peace and Friendship, between their above mentioned Majesties and their people, and subjects, as follows : ”

Then follows the main text of the Treaty.

After provisions reciting that “an Universal and Perpetual Peace and a true and Sincere Friendship ” are established between the King and Queen and their respective subjects ; and that all enmities, discords, hostilities and Wars are to cease between them ; and that offences, injuries, harms and Damages which have been suffered by either country shall be *buried in oblivion*, the Treaty asserts “the Right and order of the Hereditary succession to the Crown of Great Britain and the limitations thereof by the laws of Great Britain,” in expansive terms of recognition ; and the clause finishes in these words of rejection of the claims of the Stuarts ; “and for adding more ample credit to the said acknowledgment and promises, the Most Christian King does engage that, whereas, the *person* who, in the lifetime of the late King, James II., did take upon him the title of Prince of Wales, and, since the decease of the King, that of King of Great Britain, is lately gone, of his own accord, out of the Kingdom of France, to reside in some other place. He, the aforesaid Most Christian King, His heirs and Successors, will take all possible care that *he* shall not at any time hereafter, nor under any pretence whatsoever, *return into the Kingdom of France*, or any of the Dominions thereof.”

The Treaty then provides for the freedom of navigation between the two countries, according to the Treaty of Commerce also made of the same date. It is further

provided, on the part of France, that *Dunkirk should be razed, the harbor filled up, and the dykes broken*; and that there should be restored and delivered to Great Britain "*the Bay and Straits of Hudson, together with all the adjacent land, seas and places*; likewise the *Island of St. Christopher*; also *Nova Scotia or 'Acadie*;' also the *City of Port Royal*,* and the *Island of Newfoundland*; and the French were not to fish within fixed limits from the coast of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia."

It was further agreed, that the French "were no longer to molest the *Five Nations or Cantons of Indians*, subject to the Dominion of Great Britain, nor the other natives of America, who are friends to the same."

After reciting the renunciations of all right to the crown of France, by Philip, and to the crown of Spain, by the King's grandson, the Duke of Berry, and by the King's nephew, the Duke of Orleans, and the endorsement thereof by Louis, by Letters Patent, it is provided in the Treaty, "*That at no time whatever, either the Catholic King himself, or any one of his lineage, shall seek to obtain the Crown of France, or ascend the throne thereof*; and by reciprocal renunciations, on the part of France, and by settlements of the hereditary succession there, tending to the same purpose, *the Crowns of France and Spain are so separated and divided from each other, that the aforesaid renunciations and the other transactions relating thereto, remaining in force, and being truly and faithfully observed, they never can be joined in one.*"

* This town now bears the name of Annapolis, and is about 95 miles west of Halifax, in Nova Scotia. It has a capacious harbor, through a narrow and difficult strait. The first European settlement on this part of the Coast was made by De Monts, in 1604. Under the name of Port Royal, Annapolis was the Capital of the French Colony of Acadia. The settlement of the French was several times obstructed by the English, who claimed Nova Scotia, by right of original discovery; that name was given to the region in a Patent from James I. The Patentees, however, finding the place full of foreign adventurers, abandoned it. Cromwell subdued the foreign settlers, in 1654; but England finally ceded the region to France, by the treaty of Breda, in 1667.

There are other special provisions in the Treaty, but the above are the most substantial and important.

It is signed by the Bishop of Bristol and the Earl of Strafford, on the part of England, and by D'Huxelles and Menager on the part of France, on the 31st of March and 11th April, 1713.

These signatures were made under special commission from the two respective courts, and the above Ministers were constituted ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries for the special purpose of signing the treaty.

A Treaty of Navigation and commerce was also signed on the same day. This Treaty was very voluminous and special in its details, containing forty-one articles with others subsequently added. By it, *free or neutral ships are to make free goods*, except in case of goods contraband of war; and, in case of war by either party, the ships of the other are to carry Passports or Sea letters.

The above Treaties were immediately ratified respectively by Queen Anne and Louis; and their own signatures and seals were appended.

The important harbor and fortress of Dunkirk which, by the above treaty, was to be demolished, as a concession to England, had been wrested from France, by Cromwell; and had been basely sold by Charles II. of England to Louis, in 1662, for the consideration of four hundred thousand pounds. The importance of the place was then underestimated—or else, as Charles' treasury was empty, Parliament indisposed to be liberal, and the place required £40,000 a year for its maintenance—or perhaps particularly, as the English King's desire for money absorbed all other considerations, this great harbor and fortress was passed over to the French. This sale excited much indignation in England, who then looked, with alarm, upon the growing power of France;—it was one of the most unpopular acts of an unpopular reign. The possession of Dunkirk was a memorial of England's former military prowess; and its possession, like that of Calais, in former days, was a defiance to France and Spain, and, as such, most grateful to the English national and patriotic feeling.

On acquiring possession of Dunkirk, Louis, with an army of thirty thousand laborers, had constructed fortifications by land and sea, making the place almost impregnable, and erected docks and basins in which fleets of merchantmen might take refuge, and navies ride; and in which, before long, privateers were fitted out that devastated English and Dutch commerce. It was, therefore, a place most useful to the French in time of war; and particularly so, as it was the only port, east of Brest, along the French coast, from which large expeditions could be made for an attack on England. Its existence, in its fortified condition, was a continual menace to that country; and its destruction would remove from France facilities for attack which were always a source of apprehension both to England and Holland.

The consent now given, by Louis, that this important place should be razed, was yielded with great reluctance; but its occupation by the English forces, in 1712, under bargain with the Tory ministry, was a *sine qua non*, by which, alone, the English granted a cessation of arms as is above related, and withdrew Ormond's troops. These were fatal blows to the allies; and put Louis in a condition almost to dictate peace to the Dutch and Germans. Such an advantage was well worth the destruction of Dunkirk—humiliating as it was.

An expedition, in favor of the Pretender, had been prepared at Dunkirk, during the recent war, and all the ships and armament for attack on England gathered there. He set sail from Dunkirk in the Spring of 1708, but the expedition proved a failure.*

Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as it was called by the French, was among the Provinces surrendered by the terms of the above Treaty: the inhabitants were all of French descent, and although mildly governed by the English after formal

* By article 17 of the Treaty between France and Great Britain, signed at Versailles in Sept., 1783, all articles in anterior treaties, relative to Dunkirk, commencing from that of Utrecht inclusively, were abrogated; and the English commissioners who had resided in that place, to prevent any extension of the fortifications, were withdrawn.

possession was taken in 1715, for forty years refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain ; and being considered rather turbulent subjects, suspected of collusion with the French and Indians to restore the province to France, were forcibly and violently removed by the English, in 1755. More than six thousand of them were taken from the Province and scattered, stripped of their possessions, and almost in a state of starvation, among various American Colonies. Many of them fled to Canada and to the banks of the St. Johns. Many went to Louisiana, where their descendants continue to form a distinct population even at this day, and are still known by their former appellation, or, as abbreviated, "*Cadians*." The historian Bancroft strongly denounces the treatment that these people received at the hands of the English—torn as they were from their homes—separated from each other—and placed among those who were strangers in language, in race and in religion. "I know not," he writes, "if the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so lasting, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia!"

Edmund Burke thus records his views of this outrage : "We did, in my opinion, most inhumanly, and upon pretences, that, in the eye of an honest man, are not worth a farthing, root out this poor, innocent, deserving people, whom our utter inability to govern or to reconcile gave us no sort of right to extirpate."

TREATY WITH HOLLAND.

The treaty between Holland and France also bears date, April 11.

After providing for a good, firm, faithful and inviolable peace, and general Oblivion and Amnesty, special provisions follow, in great number. The most important is that relating to the proposed barrier of the *Spanish Netherlands*, which are to be ceded to Holland for the House of Austria ; the King of Prussia to retain his possessions therein, as theretofore, and as provided by the treaty with him, as also

the Princess d'Ursini, her principality; (which was not, however, given her). In this cession of the Spanish Netherlands were included the Duchy, town, and fortress of Luxembourg, as also the provinces, strong towns and places of Charleroi, Nieuport, Chiny and Namur. All former rights of the Elector of Bavaria over the region as theretofore transferred to him, by Spain, the said Elector is to yield, and he is to transfer his right to the House of Austria, so soon as the Elector is put in possession of his own territories, that he was possessed of in the Empire before the War, except the upper Palatinate; and he is to be established in his right and rank as 9th Elector, and is to be put in possession of the island of *Sardinia*,* and receive the title of King thereof. The towns of Menin, Tournay, and the Tournaisis, are to be transferred to the States General, in behalf of the House of Austria; as also Ypres, Loo, Furnes, Knocque, Dixminden, and other strong places. In return, Lisle, Orchies, Laleu, Aire, Bethune, St. Amant, Montagne, St. Venant and other places are to be delivered over to France.

After reciting the various renunciations, as to the crowns of France and Spain above referred to, the *union of the crowns of France and Spain* in one person, is provided against in the strongest terms.

A separate treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Holland and France, was also made, to continue for twenty-five years, in which was the important provision that all enemies' goods are to be protected by a neutral flag.

TREATY WITH PORTUGAL.

On the same day as the treaty with England, the treaty between Louis of France and John V., King of Portugal, was signed.

The most important provisions of this treaty, after the general ones for closing the war, and exchanging prisoners, were for the regulation of commerce and navigation be-

* But by the treaty of Baden (*post*), Sardinia is given to the Emperor.

tween the two countries, including the renunciation, by France, of all right to navigate or use the Amazon, and to any of the other domains of the Portuguese, in America.

THE TREATY WITH PRUSSIA.

This treaty was also signed April 11, 1713, and specially ratified, afterwards, by the Kings of France, Prussia and Spain: it provides for a good and sincere Peace, never to be altered, in any manner. The upper quarter of Spanish Guelderland, and the countries of Kesel and Krieckenback are to be yielded and acknowledged to belong to Prussia; the Roman Catholic religion to be retained there, in such parts where it exists. The King of Prussia, also, is acknowledged as sovereign of Neuchatel and Vallengin. The King of Prussia, in return, renounces to Louis all right to the estates of the Principality of Orange, situate in France or Burgundy—and is to indemnify the heirs of the Prince of Nassau therefor. The King of Prussia is also recognized as King, with right to the title of Majesty, and is to assume the right to name the part of Gueldres ceded to him, as the principality of Orange.

TREATY WITH SAVOY.

This Treaty also bears the same date as the foregoing—April 11, 1713.

After the declaration, that a firm and inviolable Peace was to be made between Savoy and France, it is declared, that all the territories of the Duke of Savoy, including Nice, are to be restored to him, and the strong places and forts therein, with all their warlike stores. Various valleys and places are also designated as included, and the top of the Alps is to form the boundary between Piedmont and France. Sicily* is also given to Savoy, through consent of the Spanish crown; and the Duke is recognized as King of Sicily. The Spanish crown is also to fall to the Duke, and his successors, on failure of the descendants of Philip

* Subsequently exchanged for Sardinia.

pursuant to the act of the King and Cortes of November, 1712.

Various other provisions are contained, treating of matters arising out of the war, and certain commercial relations are established. A great many Protests, Memorials, and complaints were also passed upon by the Congress, that were put in, in behalf of various titled claimants to the various principalities, dignities and territories, which are not now of general interest.

TREATIES FOLLOWING THOSE MADE AT UTRECHT IN APRIL, 1713.

It is in curious contrast with the great treaty made in the cause of humanity and peace with Great Britain, that, on the 1st of May, 1713, a compact was made between the English and Spanish Governments to the effect that an English company, under the patronage of Queen Anne, was to have a monopoly to supply the *Spanish West Indies with negro slaves*, for the space of thirty years, to the extent of 144,000 negroes, at the rate of 4800 yearly! This extraordinary contract was afterwards ratified by a formal treaty between the two Powers.

TREATY WITH SPAIN.

As the King of Spain was not directly represented at the regular sessions at Utrecht, a treaty was subsequently made between Great Britain and Spain, which was concluded on July 13, 1713.

This treaty provides that there should be a Christian and Universal Peace between the two countries, and recites the renunciation by the King of Spain, of all right to the French throne; "*in such manner that the two crowns can never be united;*" and it further acknowledges the Queen and her successors as sovereigns of Great Britain, according to the laws of succession established there, and Spain is to oppose all other persons claiming the succession. The Treaty thereupon provides that there shall be free use of

navigation between the two countries, as it existed prior to the war.

There is also the provision that the Catholic King shall thereby, for himself, his heirs and successors, yield to the Crown of Great Britain the full and entire property, "of the town and castle of *Gibraltar*, to be held and enjoyed absolutely, with all manner of right, forever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever."

The island of Minorca was also yielded to Great Britain; and it was further provided that the King of Spain should not part with or alienate any of the dominions, wherever situate, belonging to that Kingdom.

TREATY BETWEEN GERMANY AND FRANCE.

The Emperor, who had been the head and front of the alliance, and whose interests were mainly involved in the war, was, after the signature of the treaties at Utrecht, left alone—the grand alliance being practically dissolved.

The French King had sent proposals of peace to the Emperor, bearing date 11th April, 1713, to be accepted before the first of June then next. The terms were numerous: the principal ones being that the Rhine should be the barrier between the two countries; and that the Duchy of Milan and the Kingdom of Naples should belong to the house of Austria; as also the Spanish Netherlands; and that all of their dominions should be restored to the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria; the latter Prince was also to receive the Kingdom of Sardinia. The Bourbon King, Philip, was, of course, to be retained on the Spanish throne. But the proud House of Austria could not bring itself to yield its pretensions to the Spanish crown: the Emperor still kept his armies afoot, under the leadership of Prince Eugene, who still was violently opposed to all peace with France, unless he could secure, for Austria, the entire Spanish Dominion; or, at any rate, the crown of Spain.

After the conclusion of the principal negotiations, at Utrecht, the Elector of Mayence called a meeting of the Circles of the Empire, to deliberate on the conditions of

peace proposed by France. At this conference, the Emperor's agent, Count Sinzendorff, endeavored to influence the representatives of the Circles in favor of the continuance of the war; and the Imperial Court issued a decree calling for further hostilities: it was sent to a Diet of the Empire, held at Ratisbonne, which determined on the following resolution:—

“That the propositions made by France were so exacting that their acceptance would tarnish the glory of the German nation, and destroy its constitution—thus that they cannot be accepted.” “That after the unexpected separation of the allies, nothing remained but to imitate the noble courage of the Emperor, so as to preserve the liberty that the German nation had so gloriously inherited from its ancestors. For that reason, it was necessary, to make use of all their efforts, in concord and union, while imploring divine assistance in so glorious a war; which should be preferred to French slavery, which would infallibly ensue, if Peace was accepted, under the conditions that were offered. That as the Germans now stood, alone, to cope with France, all must send their contingents for the war;” and the Emperor was called upon to vigorously punish all those who gave assistance to the enemy.

The Emperor, thereupon, issued a manifesto of a very severe character, threatening punishment against all his German subjects, who might join the enemy or lend him countenance in any way; and proclaiming the continuance of hostilities. The protest of the Emperor was partially as follows: “Since after a war, so prolonged and so ruinous to all Christendom, it seems that the Powers of Europe are about to make a mutual peace between themselves, and are about to ratify it without any regard to our interests, we have judged it proper to assert, by this Protest, our indubitable rights against all that may dare to gainsay or alienate them, to our prejudice. And, indeed, it is not only the state of our own affairs that concerns us, but the immutable love that we have for our good subjects causes us to regard, with great grief, that their lives and property have been sacrificed to sustain the crying injustice that has been done

us, and that they are in this condition, that if they make Peace regardless of *us*, they must necessarily become the prey of strangers and undergo their yoke." The Emperor therefore was still obstinate; and preferred to carry on the war, singly, rather than give up his position.

Hostilities were mainly confined to the territories on the Rhine, where the results were not fortunate to the German arms. Marshal Villars, commanding the troops of the King, besieged and took Landau in August, and afterwards Fribourg, in November following, where many prisoners were captured and much munition of war secured. These successes of France at length seriously disposed the Emperor to peace; and Prince Eugene was authorized to commence negotiations with that view; Marshal Villars representing France. Negotiations were somewhat prolonged; and their rupture being probable, new levies were ordered by the German Diet, and Prince Eugene departed from Rastadt where the negotiations were proceeding.

In Feb., 1714, Louis thus wrote to Madame de Maintenon—"Peace is not yet made, but it will soon be signed. Prince Eugene has returned to Rastadt, and Villars is about going there.—Everything is arranged; and I have ordered Marshal Villars to sign. I have supposed that you will not be sorry to know of this good news, somewhat sooner than you otherwise would. You must not speak of it, except by saying, that the Prince Eugene returning to Rastadt, the conferences will be renewed. I have no doubt of Peace.—I rejoice with you.—Let us thank the good God!"

The Treaty with the Emperor was eventually signed at Rastadt; and not finally concluded until nearly a year after the other main treaties; the treaty being dated March 6, 1714.

After the usual provisions "for a Christian and Universal peace; and a true, sincere and perpetual amity," between the two countries, and a "perpetual oblivion and amnesty," the former treaties of Westphalia, Nymeguen and Ryswick are pronounced as the basis of the present treaty, in the particulars where no change is made. The following are the substantial provisions:—The City and fortress of Old

Brisach, Friburg, Fort Kehl, and other specified fortresses, places and territories on the right bank of the Rhine and elsewhere are to be restored to the Emperor, and others on the left bank, to France; the free navigation of the river to be open to both countries. The cities of Tournay, and the Tournaisis, and Menin are also yielded to the Empire; and the other places theretofore yielded to Holland, in behalf of the Emperor.

By the Emperor's prolongation of the war he lost the important place of Landau, which he was obliged to yield to France, and which France had offered him if he had assented to the Treaties of 1713, at Utrecht. Other places and territories that belong to Baden, the Electorate of Treves and the Palatinate, the Bishops of Worms and Spire, and to the House of Wurtemberg respectively, are to be restored, and certain fortresses held by France were to be razed or evacuated. The house of Brunswick-Hanover was to be recognized by France, as an Electorate; and the Emperor stipulated that the Archbishop of Cologne and the Elector of Bavaria should be restored to their dominions and dignities; they to recognize the new Electorate of Hanover. Part of his territories restored to the Elector of Bavaria was the Principality of Mindelheim, which had been conferred on Marlborough by the Emperor Joseph, in appreciation of Marlborough's distinguished successes in the service of the allies. Although Marlborough sent to the Emperor a protest against his deprivation of the principality, which he valued as a reward and a memorial of his valor and genius, his protest was ineffectual, and he received no indemnity for the loss of this estate, worth £2000 a year, except the empty title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire.

It is further provided in the treaty that the Emperor is to enter *in possession of the Spanish Netherlands* and other adjacent districts and territories, to hold them for his heirs and successors thenceforward, forever, according to the arrangements, for their occupation, to be made between Holland and the Empire. The King of Prussia was to retain, certain specified districts. The Emperor was to have then then Spanish possessions, especially the Kingdom of Na-

ples, Milan, Sardinia, and the ports of Tuscany, including the fortresses on the Tuscan coast, without any interference of France : and, by the treaty of Baden (*infra*), was to take the Duchies of Mantua and Mirandola. Provision is made for a more general and solemn treaty to be made thereafter, on consultation with the Prince Electors and States of the Empire.

This treaty was afterwards ratified at Baden in September, 1714, with more special provisions, and with some modification of previous treaties.

Nothing appears in either of these treaties as to the succession to the thrones either of France or Spain. The Treaty of Baden was the final result of the terrible war of the Succession which arose out of the decease of Charles II. of Spain, of whom a French writer * says : " His funeral obsequies were the occasion of so many others, that it might be well said of him, as was said of another Prince, that it would have been well, if he had never been born, or had never died ! "

A medal was struck on the conclusion of the War by the peace of Baden ; on one side of which were the heads of Eugene and Villars looking towards each other, with the legend, in Latin : " Formerly two thunderbolts of war." On the reverse of the medal were the words, " Now instruments of peace," and two swords surrounded by olive branches, and the genius of Peace with a pen in hand.

THE BARRIER TREATY.

A treaty had been made between England and Holland in January, 1713 ; the main features of which related to the acknowledgment and continuance of the Protestant Succession in the former country, on the one side, and the guaranteeing the maintenance of the barrier to be established for Holland, on the other. A Treaty called the " Treaty of the Barrier " had also, theretofore, been made between Great Britain and Holland while the war was at its height. This latter compact was made in October, 1709 ;

* De Flassan.

by it the Dutch were guaranteed the military occupation, at all times, of certain fortresses and territories on the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier against France. On the part of Holland, it was agreed, that she should furnish succor, by land and sea, to maintain the Queen in the quiet possession of her kingdoms; and also defend the succession of the House of Hanover to the British Crown. This treaty and the one above recited of the same character were severely criticised in England as unnecessary and absurd; and it was claimed that Great Britain could not, in reason, be called upon to sustain it. Said Swift, in one of his pungent papers, in 1712: "But how must it sound in a European ear, that Great Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expense; after saving the Empire, Holland and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should, toward the close of the war, enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces to secure to them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them, and to undertake for a great deal more, without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept as an equivalent, the mean condition of those States to preserve her Queen upon the throne; whom, by God's assistance, she is able to defend against all her enemies and allies put together."

TREATY BETWEEN HOLLAND AND THE EMPEROR.

A further treaty was that made between Holland and the Emperor to establish the barrier on the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, as a protection to Holland. By the terms of the main Treaty of Utrecht, with Holland, the United Provinces were to remain in possession of the Spanish Netherlands, until the Emperor had arranged with the Dutch for the establishment of their permanent barrier. The treaty arranging this barrier was signed, at Antwerp, in November, 1715. By its provisions, Holland was to yield up the possession of all towns and Provinces in the Spanish Netherlands, formerly held by Charles II., or that had been

ceded by France; and the Emperor stipulated, in turn, that no part of the Spanish Netherlands should be thereafter ceded to France, nor to any Prince not a successor or heir to the House of Austria. An army, contributed in certain proportions by either country, was to remain in occupation of certain designated places in the *Austrian Netherlands*, as they were thereafter to be called, and certain strong places in Gueldres were given to Holland. England was a party to and guaranteed the maintenance of this treaty, and was to furnish a contingent in case of any attack on places within the barrier.

TREATY WITH PORTUGAL.

A treaty of Peace was also made between Spain and Portugal which was concluded at Utrecht, under date of February 6, 1715; by which the territories of each nation were to be mutually restored, as before the war.

OTHER TREATIES.

On the 26th of June, 1714, a Treaty of Peace and Commerce was also made between Holland and Spain.

There were also other treaties made by several of the minor states, which it would be of little interest now to review.

MEMORIAL OF THE PROTESTANTS.

Besides the political elements involved in the discussions at Utrecht, certain religious privileges and rights were sought to be established. During the last days of the Sessions, an appeal was put before the Plenipotentiaries, by the Protestant Princes and States, in furtherance of the principle of religious toleration, and, particularly, for the relief of the French Huguenots. The memorial address, on which the appeal was made, was offered by the Protestant Plenipotentiaries, and presented to the Plenipotentiaries of France on the 11th of April, 1713.

“Wherefore,” the Protestant Plenipotentiaries conclude in their request, “the Plenipotentiaries of the said allies find themselves obliged, pursuant to the express orders of their sovereigns, to require with the utmost earnestness, Messieurs, the Plenipotentiaries of his Most Christian Majesty, to represent to the King, their Master, that the relief the French Protestants have so long groaned for may be granted them, and that they may be re-established in their religious rights and privileges, and enjoy an entire liberty of conscience; and that such of them as are in prisons and galleys, and otherwise confined, may be enlarged and set at liberty, to the end that those afflicted people may have a share in that peace which Europe, in all appearance, is going to enjoy.”

It appeared from the memorial that, within the previous thirty years, under one pretence or another, over three hundred Protestant churches had been broken up in France by the interference of Government. “By this,” the memorial states, “over a million of persons have not only been deprived of all manner of exercise of religious instruction, or religious comfort in sickness, but, besides these calamities, the greatest part of them have been compelled to promise and subscribe to adhere to the worship and errors of the Church of Rome. Others have abandoned their native land, or were expelled thence, without any subsistence or comfort, except what they found in the charitable reception given them by foreign Protestants.” The Memorial then speaks of those who persisted in their faith, or offered any resistance, being transported into slavery to the French Colonies of America, thrown into prisons and convents, and condemned to the galleys without regard to age or quality; of the tearing of children from their parents; of the confiscation of estates; of the forcing of the Romish tenets upon the young and helpless, and of causing them to do a great many things, under the Romish discipline, “which fill their consciences with horror, and overwhelm their souls with grief.” The Memorial concludes with praying the Congress to adopt measures, in the Treaty, for the protection of the Protestants in France, in

the exercise of their worship, and in their family relations; the restitution of their estates and franchises as citizens, and of the confiscated estates of exiles. Memorials were also put in in behalf of the Protestant estates and subjects of the Kingdom of Hungary, and of the Principality of Transylvania, and of the Province of Silesia.

But the Congress was too much exercised in settling territorial and political matters to give any attention to religious questions. They had appealed to God, at the beginning of the Sessions, but practically ignored his interests at the close. It does not appear that anything was said or done, in furtherance of the objects of the Memorial, and the application of the Protestant advocates was entirely disregarded. Thereupon they put in a protest, before the Magistrates of Utrecht, dated May 26, 1713, stating that their just hopes of redress by the King of France had been frustrated, and lamenting that no Potentate had undertaken, in the Congress, the office of mediator in their behalf.

On the conclusion of the great Peace, a commemorative medal was struck; in which Astræa is represented descending from the skies with the attributes of Peace, Justice and Abundance, and bearing the motto: *Spes felicitatis Orbis, Pax Ultrajactensis: XI. Aprilis, 1713.**

* The Peace of Utrecht, the hope of happiness for the World.

CHAPTER XXX.

Reception of the Treaty of Utrecht.—Views in Germany.—Sentiment in England, and Holland.—Opinion of Louis XIV., and the Marquis de Torcy.—Views of Historians, and Others.—Views in Favor of the Peace.—Bolingbroke's Reflections upon it.—Macaulay's Views.—The Clause in the Treaty with Great Britain recognizing the Protestant Succession.

RECEPTION OF THE TREATY OF UTRECHT.

SINCE the great Treaty of Westphalia, which pacified Europe by closing the "Thirty Years' War," there had been no Treaty involving such important interests and settling questions of such political moment as the series of compacts called the "*Treaty of Utrecht*." This great and humane agreement of peace, so longed for by the wearied and harassed peoples of Europe, the result of prolonged and anxious labor, and which had been adjusted by the wisest and most experienced statesmen of the time, on a basis that was deemed just for all, gave great discontent in many quarters;—and indeed, seemed grateful in none.

Criticisms, accusations, reproaches and denunciations flew about, like birds of ill omen, over Europe, and indicated that the repose of the Nations, gladdened, for a time, by dreams of peace, could not be of long duration.

The following is a translation of one of the most acrid Philippics of the time, indicating the views on the German side of the question, and is a bitter malediction on the Peace and its promoters.

"No enlightened person characterizes the Peace of Utrecht except as hideous and abominable. It is well said, that it is a peace blown into existence by the most dangerous of all seducing influences, listened to by the most simple of all imbeciles, connived at by the most shameful complacency, projected by the blackest of treasons. All enlightened persons denounce it as commenced under the

wildest confusion, pushed forward by atrocious perfidy, managed by the most deceiving dissimulations, treated by the most stupid incapacity, imposed by the most disdainful arrogance, prescribed by the most enormous injustice and brought to birth amidst the most tumultuous discords.—A peace concluded amid the wildest fears, subscribed by the most abominable constraint, accepted by the most sordid greed, approved by the most flagrant corruption, applauded by the most stupid ignorance, received with the keenest bitterness and preserved with an absurd mystery. Peace !—which tarnishes the glorious streams of blood flowing in a just war, and opening adundant sources of tears—bitter to honorable men, who foresee, with the profoundest grief, the imminent and perilous slavery of wretched Europe. Peace !—that posterity will regard with detestable horror. Peace ! whose ignominy will find no parallel in future ages. In fine, Peace, whose sweet name of benediction is unfortunately turned into a frightful prognostic of evil—whose bonfires of joy and illuminations should only serve as wretched funeral pyres to the fleshless skeleton of the expiring liberty of Europe, and for which no *Te Deum* can be chaunted without blasphemous impiety.

“One only light of glory is seen—that of the allies, who, with a constant faith and an unalterable sincerity and candor, had, in 1709 and 1710, at the Hague and at Gertruydenberg, been arrayed for a peace which was in harmony with the glorious exploits of a long and happy war ; which peace was obstructed by methods now notorious to the whole earth ; and that, by a stupid handful of villanous Englishmen, who had degenerated from the generosity and glory of their nation.”

A great clamor, particularly against England, was kept up at the Imperial Court, and, in fact, by all Germany. A contemporary letter, purporting to be written by a servant of the Emperor to an Englishman, was worded in the following strong denunciatory language :—

“You are feeling triumphant now ; and you do not perceive that France, alone, has carried off the victory. In what spirit, think you, will posterity read what you have done ?

—With with aspect, do you think, is all Europe viewing this event?—like an event without parallel—which has no example in past times, and which, please God, may have no like in future times.” The charge was then made, in the letter, of base desertion from the alliance, and, it was claimed, that the campaign was opening with great prospects of success—that large forces were ready for the spring movements, when the Duke of Ormond received his orders, ignominiously, to take his troops away; and that no satisfaction had been made to the Emperor, for the loss of Spain.

“But you Englishmen,—you, our allies,” the letter goes on to say, “who have so often recognized the necessity of lowering the exorbitant power of France and to set limits to that formidable power which recognizes none,—you, who have so often and so solemnly recognized the right of his Imperial Majesty over the whole Spanish Monarchy—you, in fine, who were allied with us to reconquer it and to restore it to the Emperor, how is it possible, that on the point of arriving at this end, so long desired, you change, all at once, your sentiment, your councils and your designs—that you arrest the glorious and rapid course of our common victories—and that changing thus, from white to black, you take upon yourselves, in face of the whole earth, the despicable resolution to undo all that you have done,—to abandon your faithful and principal ally, to throw yourself upon his heritage, and to divide it, like plunder, between yourselves and the common enemy? Oh, Englishmen, Englishmen!—what will posterity say of you—on what decent ground can you do what you are doing?—What will become of the world, and what will become of yourselves if such conduct becomes an example, and if other Powers no longer feel bound to stick to their alliances?”

The principal grounds of complaint of the Emperor were, that the common cause of the alliance had been abandoned; that Spain had been despoiled and dismembered and little of it given to Austria; that the frontiers of France had been restored and left fortified; and that the Empire had been despoiled, and left unprotected along the

Rhine frontier, and was open to attack by France, at any time.

In Holland, also, the Peace was greeted, not only without enthusiasm, but with aversion, in spite of the bonfires and illuminations ordered by the States General. It was complained particularly there, that France was left in possession of a string of fortresses on the Rhine and in Flanders, which might operate as an advance guard for aggression; and that the result was not commensurate with the blood and treasure that had been lavished by the Dutch.

In England, also, by very many, the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht were considered a special blot on the statesmanship and glory of the nation: and the only part of it with which everybody was pleased was the Assiento agreement with Spain; by which England became an extensive slave kidnapper and trader. Lord Chatham, in after times, characterized the Treaty as "the indelible reproach of the last generation,"* and its conditions gave, with many, good reason for such a sneer against England as was made by Count Algarotti, when he remarked, that "the English made war like lions, and peace like lambs."

Bishop Burnet, also, and other prominent men in England, boldly denounced the treaty as a violation of England's compact, and a disgraceful abandonment of the allies. While the Treaty was in progress, Burnet thus boldly spoke his views to the Queen, as he has recorded the occurrence in his history:—"I asked leave," he states, "to speak my mind plainly; which she granted. I said, that any treaty by which Spain and the West Indies were left to King Philip, must, in a little while, deliver all Europe into the hands of France; and if any such peace should be made, she was betrayed and we were all ruined: that, in less than three years' time, she would be murdered, and the fires would be again raised in Smithfield."

Not only by a large number of the English people at the

* Lord Chatham, also, writing, in 1759, to the British Minister at the Court of Berlin, says, "Whenever peace shall be judged proper to come under consideration, no *peace of Utrecht* will again stain the annals of England!"

time, but subsequently, by the majority of English historians, the Treaty of peace has been considered, not only dishonorable to England, in view of her great sacrifices and her great victories, but disgraceful, in view of her relations to her allies and the purposes of the war. It was considered that all the great principles which caused the confederation of States to oppose the power of France, particularly as to the seating of a Bourbon on the Spanish throne, were abandoned; and that the allies of England, in spite of solemn compact, were deserted by her, to continue the war alone, and to suffer defeat, by reason of the removal of Marlborough from command, the unexpected secret treaty with France, and the withdrawal of the English contingent from the ranks of the allies. The Catalans, too, who had fought desperately for the Archduke, were left without any provision for their protection, in the Treaty; and were basely abandoned to the joint attack of France and Spain; and subsequently treated with great harshness and almost barbarous cruelty by those Powers.

To balance this, the empty honor of obtaining from Louis an acknowledgment of the Protestant succession, was considered a mere empty form of words; which experience had shown, after the violation of the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick, would be arbitrarily set at naught, at any time, by the King of France, when his interests might so dispose him. That monarch, on the contrary, it was urged, might well surrender some of the strong places in the Netherlands, and on the Rhine, since, by his practical control of Spain, his strength would be doubled for the purpose, at any time he so desired, of seizing them again. Louis, it was said, had succeeded in all his aims. He had gallantly fought out the war to the end,—and, with the exception of a few fortresses, his European territory was unchanged: he had prevented the aggrandizement of Austria—he had placed, securely, his Bourbon on the throne of Spain and the Indies: and bound the Spaniards by ties of blood and alliance of interest, as his confederates for any future hostile design.

Holland, it is true, had gained her barrier; and for this

England had contended, but it was only after successive curtailments: for, under the skilful encroachments of the French diplomatists, the barrier was rendered of little efficiency, inasmuch as Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, and, above all, Lisle, were restored to France, and moreover, the abandonment of her ally, by England, left a sense of hostility in the minds of the Dutch, that endured for many years. The Treaty of Commerce with France, too, was so particularly unpopular, with the mercantile public in Great Britain, that ministers had to employ De Foe and other pamphleteers to support it. By taking off the high duties, imposed on French importations, it was considered, that trade with Portugal, Italy and Turkey would be injuriously affected, and the interests of the Nation generally impaired. Parliament subsequently refused to pass a measure to carry certain parts of this Treaty into operation. In addition to this, the commercial features of the Treaty were left, it was considered, so equivocal and doubtful as to leave occasion in after times, to disputes and hostile misunderstandings—to crown all, England had no security or real guarantee given for protection against any future act of France.

And yet, with all the advantages that were supposed to accrue to France, by the Treaty, it was not considered, in that country, of special benefit to it. Louis, it is related, was so displeased with its terms that he refused to receive the congratulations habitual on such occasions, although the usual Te Deums and illuminations were directed, in order to influence ideas of the community as to the final triumphs obtained through the Peace. De Torcy, however, the French Minister of foreign affairs, thus, in his memoirs, records his satisfaction at the Treaty, so far as France was concerned. “England, quitting her allies, who were afterwards defeated at Denain, had the glory to contribute in restoring to Europe a happy and stable peace: *advantageous* to France, by the restoration of the principal places which she had lost during the war, by the preservation of those which the king had offered three years before: *glorious*, by the maintenance of a prince of the Royal family on the throne of Spain; *necessary*, from the fatal loss,

which the kingdom incurred, four years after that miserable negotiation,* and two years after the peace, of the greatest king who ever yet wore the crown."

By many, the whole proceedings at Utrecht were considered a diplomatic farce, intended to delude the allies into the idea that they were engaged in assisting to make a Treaty, when, in fact, it was being made entirely through the outside negotiations between France and England. Tindall, the English historian, writing about twenty-five years after the Treaty, thus pithily gives his views on the subject. It was well for him that his criticism was not expressed during a Tory Administration. "The summary, then, of this whole proceeding, at Utrecht, in one short view, appears to be this. A Congress, for general conference, was necessary to be opened, that the allies might, in appearance, agreeable to the Grand Alliance, have the opportunity of treating and adjusting their several pretensions. The British Ministers were, by their instructions, to act in concert with their allies: but they really acted in concert with the French Plenipotentiaries. The allies, giving in their specific demands, was not to be avoided: but the French were to gain as much time as they possibly could, by unnecessary delays, and at last, insist upon such a method of answering these demands, as they knew the allies could not comply with. In the mean time, the negotiations were carrying on, directly, between England and France; or rather, all the conditions were dictated and prescribed by France, whilst the allies were amused with a dispute about the method of answering, from which France would not and they could not possibly depart: in which England agreed with the rest of the allies.

"All particulars that concerned even the interest of the Allies, were transacted between the Ministers of England and France, under the highest obligations of secrecy. The Dutch were pressed to come into the Queen's measures, without being acquainted with what the Queen's measures were: and, because they would not consent to they knew not what, as soon as it was resolved to send orders to the

* The negotiations at Gertruydenberg.

Duke of Ormond not to engage in either siege or battle, and the great projects were ready to be executed on the other side of the water, the Queen declared she looked upon herself now, from their conduct, to be under no obligation, whatever, to the States General. And thus, the alliance between Great Britain and her principal ally was declared to be dissolved and cancelled, before anything was finally agreed and concluded between Great Britain and France, or the former had any security for its own trade and commerce, or any other advantages that were to accrue to it."

A minister of the German circles produced the following *jeu d'esprit* on the Treaty and its illusory character:

*"Compono, impono, concludo, illudo. Quid inde?
Conclusum, illusum, compositum, impositum.
Finis principio similis, sic ordo vagatur.
Nos dedimus, dabimus, nolumus, et volumus.
Conventus noster ventus, conclusio ludus.
Ut fuit accessus, sicque recessus erit."*

Archdeacon Coxe, in his *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain*, thus records his view of the subject:

"Thus terminated a negotiation, which proved the salvation of the House of Bourbon, and set the seal to the degradation of England!" He then quotes the words of Bishop Fleetwood in the preface to his sermons, which preface was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. A part of it is as follows: "We were, as all the world imagined, then just entered on the ways that promised to lead us to such a peace as would have answered all the prayers of our religious Queen, the care and vigilance of a most able ministry, the payments of a willing and obedient people, as well as all the toils and hazards of the soldiery—when God, for our sins, permitted the spirit of discord to go forth, and, by troubling sore the Camp, the City and the Country, to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give in its stead—I know not what—Our enemies will tell the rest, with pleasure!"

One of the most pronounced of English historians, in

denunciation of the Treaty, is Lord Mahon, who thus summarizes his views of it: "To our enemies, indeed, I would willingly leave the disgraceful transactions of that period. Let them relate the bed-chamber influence of Mrs. Masham with her sovereign, and the treacherous cabals of Harley against his colleagues—by what unworthy means the great administration of Godolphin was sapped and overthrown—how his successors surrendered the public interests, to serve their own—and how subserviency to France became our leading principle of policy—how the Dutch were forsaken—and the Catalans betrayed—until, at last, this career of wickedness received its consummation in the *shameful Peace of Utrecht!*"

Keightley, another English historian, thus writes: "But loss of honor was the great loss of England in this opprobrious treaty. She basely deserted and betrayed her allies, and the infamy would be indelible were the fact not certain, that it was the deed of an unprincipled minister, the secret foe of the Protestant succession, and supported by the Jacobites and high Tories, and not the act of the nation."

But there are other views as to the Peace entertained by more dispassionate thinkers, in opposition to those above recited; and, which, at least, at the present day, would seem, under all the circumstances, more reasonable. Whatever were the ministerial intrigues connected with it or the political results of the Peace, certainly, in a broad humanitarian aspect, it was beneficent. It gave leisure to kings, cabinets and statesmen, who had been for years in a state of anxious unrest, and afforded them time to attend to the neglected internal interests of their respective States; it gave repose and relief to the people, from whom the taxes that had fed the war had been wrung, in the midst of disease and famine, and whose blood had drenched the soil to further ends to which they, in their private spheres, were indifferent—it gave opportunity for science and art to pursue their noble aims for the extension of human welfare and happiness—it loosened the chains of Commerce, always ready to spring, with alacrity, at the first sound of peace; and set free her sails,

for the interchange of the peaceful products of long neglected industry,—it signalled the peasant again to drive his beasts afield, where lately had stormed the ranks of frantic hosts; and sowed anew the patient earth for the golden yield that was to give fresh life to starving and suffering humanity.

But great and advantageous political results were also obtained by the Peace; although it has become the fashion for historians to decry them. The war of the Succession had been begun, not merely to settle the succession to the crown of Spain, but to guard against the undue preponderance of a single Power, and to secure the independence of the European States, by establishing a proper equilibrium. These results had been gained—and permanently gained. France had been checked, humiliated and weakened. She had found, that any future war begun by her, for mere conquest, would cause all Europe to rise in arms against her. The fact had been demonstrated, that she could no longer, under any monarch, be a dictator in European politics, nor a mere marauder over the territories of other States;—her power was no longer to preponderate—her threats no longer were to intimidate. A part of her frontier had been lost—the dominions of Spain, her great ally, had been dismembered—and the crowns of France and Spain were forever disunited.

For her ally, the Duke of Savoy, England had secured the return of his estates, the possession of Sicily, and the title of King. England had gained, for herself, strength and territory in the Mediterranean, as well as in America; Gibraltar and Minorca were hers, for the protection of her Mediterranean commerce; and obnoxious Dunkirk was to be razed, for the security of her southern coast. England had nothing more to gain, for her own advantage, by prolonging the war; the circumstances under which it was begun had changed; and a plausible excuse for her desertion of her allies might be urged, in that they had not, for a long time, furnished their quota of troops or subsidies engaged for the war. By the Treaty, too, the Protestant

succession was formally acknowledged, and the Pretender ignored.

Besides this it might be asked, "Was the war to be endless?" Every nation engaged in it was suffering—and neither defeat nor victory, on either side, seemed productive of any decisive result. England came out of the contest strong and influential. Her power in European politics had been felt—a power which was to be lasting; she was, thenceforth, to be an important factor in all settlements of European interests.

Austria, too, although disappointed in her hopes as to the Succession, and irritated by the cession of Strasburg to France, had gained the most important of the Spanish possessions in Italy, and increased her imperial *prestige* and power, as a counterpoise to France. The Spanish Netherlands, the principal theatre of contest, were also to be hers, and would prove an additional bulwark for Holland. Besides this, why should she further hopelessly contend for the Spanish throne? The Spaniards had strongly manifested their preference for their new king, and expressed their detestation of Austrian rule; and the other Powers seemed determined not to further carry on the contest, in order to force on the Spaniards a rule which they detested, and to establish for them a dynasty which would cause an amalgamation of all the Spanish dominions with those of the Empire, and, by conferring a double crown on the House of Austria, establish a strength and preponderance for that House, which might be as baneful for Europe as the other alternative.

Holland, too, had its barrier established, which under the Treaty seemed sufficient, particularly, in view of the fact, that the Netherlands were now to be a part of Austria, the hereditary foe of France.

The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne also, came out well by the Treaty, being restored to their former estates.

The Duke of Hanover was confirmed in the dignity of Elector, and Prussia was publicly acknowledged a Kingdom and received advantageous additions to her territories. Spain too received by the Treaty peace and repose after

the terrible conflict which had raged in every part of that country. She had lost, it is true, her possessions in the Netherlands and in Italy—but those possessions had been sources of weakness to her, rather than of strength; remote from the mother country, they required constant supervision and care, and needed large bodies of troops for their government and defence. On the other hand, she had preserved her rich colonies in America, which were her main sources of wealth.

The French King, on his side, had reason to be satisfied with the Treaty, in many respects. By it he had saved France; he had established a powerful alliance on his southern border; he had founded a dynasty of his own family in Spain; and had checked Austria in her efforts to gain preponderance in Europe.

The Treaty, in fine, arranged with great deliberation and under the greatest difficulties in view of the numerous conflicting demands and the jealousy and enmity with which each state regarded the claims of the others, showed a fair regard for all interests, as well as for the general welfare, in the maintenance of a proper balance of territorial and governmental power; although no one country had received a triumph, or complete satisfaction. The Treaty was, without doubt, not only a blessing to humanity and to Europe, but as beneficent and just as it might be made, for the respective States concerned.

Lord Bolingbroke, in his reflections on the results of the war and the Peace, contained in his Essay on "The Study and Use of History," written many years after the Peace, thus expressed himself as to the necessity of it. "It was high time, indeed," he writes, "to save our country from absolute insolvency and bankruptcy, by putting an end to a scheme of conduct which the prejudices of a party, the whimsy of some particular men, the private interest of more, and the ambition and avarice of our allies, who had been invited to a scramble, as it were, by the preliminaries of 1709, alone maintained." He then speaks of his efforts to bring about the peace, and that he felt it his duty to his country to endeavor to further it, although he foresaw,

somewhat, what would happen to him for being so active in it: but, he avers, that he would so act, again, under the same circumstances. "Age and experience," he remarks, "might enable me to act with more ability and greater skill; but all I have suffered, since the death of the Queen, would not hinder me from so acting. Notwithstanding this, I shall not be surprised if you think that the Peace of Utrecht was not answerable to the success of the war, nor to the efforts made in it. I think so myself; and have always owned, even when it was making and made, that I thought so; since we had committed a successful folly we ought to have reaped more advantage from it than we did; and, whether we had left Philip, or placed another prince on the throne of Spain, we ought to have reduced the power of France and to have strengthened her neighbors much more than we did. We ought to have reduced her power for generations to come, and not to have contented ourselves with a momentary reduction of it." Bolingbroke further ascribes the failure to exact better terms from France to the intrigues of parties in England and Holland, who were opposed to all peace; and kept the counsels of England and the allies disunited, until the position of France was so strengthened that she was in a state to resist undue pressure upon her.

As regards the criticism urged against the clandestine nature of the negotiations carried on between the French and the English ministry, outside the Congress at Utrecht, it may be answered that there was nothing in them exceptional to the course of habitual diplomacy. The Congress at Utrecht was too unwieldy, and the interests there too various for any such speedy termination of the controversies involved, that the interests of Europe required.

The diplomatic punctilio was too rigid, and diplomatic *formula* too dilatory at the general Congress for the exigencies of the case; a mere quarrel between lackeys had delayed proceedings for months at Utrecht, and other delays threatened to paralyze further negotiations; therefore, practised statesmen like De Torcy and Oxford and Bolingbroke, acting under the urgent wishes of their respective

sovereigns, took the matter into their own hands, applied their strong judgment and common sense in a business way to the main purposes in view ; and, although they did not omit to fence with each other for diplomatic advantages, they acted with a frankness and directness unusual in diplomacy, impressed their ardor for peace on all concerned in the negotiations, and finally—amid obstacles, jealousies, delays and objections, that seemed hydra-headed—brought the greatest work of the century to a solid conclusion.

De Torcy, writing afterwards, with the reflection that repose afforded, thus gives his testimony of the good faith that characterized the negotiations. "What renders our negotiations at London," he remarks, "different from many others is that there never was any question of advantage beyond that of procuring Peace for Europe, nor any other interest than that of the State. If, on our part, we took pains to employ language most appropriate to please the Queen—it was not only due to her sex, but her zeal for peace ; and the sincerity of her ministers merit such praise as it is proper to give to good faith, which does not always prevail between negotiators.—Many, on the contrary, are wrongly of the opinion that falsehood and artifice are the great weapons of political intercourse."

"The day will come," remarks Bolingbroke, in an answer to the libels against him, as he terms them, "the day will come, when authentic history will relate the passages of those times, without regard to the partial views of any party, or the particular defence of any man. Until this day does come, every one must decide or suspend his judgment as he may have reason to do ; and they, who may suffer by these judgments, must bear it, with that temper and respect which is due from every private man to public censures—nay, even to public prejudices."

Macaulay, in one of his essays, passes judgment on the Treaty, in his usual cynical and dogmatic style : "We are, therefore," he remarks, "for the Peace of Utrecht. We are, indeed, no admirers of the statesmen who concluded that peace. Harley, we believe, was a solemn trifler—St. John a brilliant knave. The great body of their followers con-

sisted of the country clergy and the country gentry; two classes of men who were, then, inferior in intelligence to decent shopkeepers or farmers, of our time. * * * It is true that the means by which the Tories came into power, in 1710, were most disreputable. It is true, that the manner in which they used their power was often unjust and cruel. It is true, that, in order to bring about their favorite project of peace, they resorted to slander and deception, without the slightest scruple. It is true, that they passed off, on the British nation, a renunciation, which they knew to be invalid. It is true that they gave up the Catalans to the vengeance of Philip, in a manner inconsistent with humanity and national honor. But on the great question of Peace or War, we cannot but think; that, though their motives may have been selfish and malevolent, their decision was beneficial to the State."

THE CLAUSE IN THE TREATY AS TO THE "PROTESTANT SUCCESSION."

There is a secret history, with regard to the clause in the Treaty between France and England, by which the Protestant succession in Great Britain was recognized, as one of the terms of the pacification. To obtain this recognition had been one of the objects of the war; and the acknowledgment of the Pretender, as King, by Louis XIV., when William III. was King of England, had been the main cause that had brought that country into the alliance with the Emperor and Holland, against France.

A fear of Papacy—a dread of French interference and French influence—the remembrance of the tyranny and bigotry of James—and, above all, the heroic qualities and notable virtues of William and Mary, had caused any indication of an intention, on the part of France, to assist the Catholic Pretender to the English throne, to be viewed, throughout England, with fierce indignation.

Circumstances, however, had changed. King James was no more—death had given him a political absolution—the Pretender, his son, was of the old stock—he was an English-

man—he, personally, had done the realm no harm—he was a prince of resolution and manly qualities—he promised toleration—and, above all, as a paramount qualification with many throughout the land—he embodied that spiritual essence which sanctified his cause—the *jus divinum*—the divine right of kingship. On the other hand, when Anne—now in feeble health and childless—should pass from the throne, who was designated to take her place, as by law established?—A tottering old German woman, or her dull, sensual boor of a son—both indifferent to everything English—unsympathetic with the English people—ignorant of their laws and even of their language.

Naturally, men's minds, and an increasing number of them, were directed seriously to consider the claims of the Pretender, as the health of the Queen deteriorated from day to day. It began to be widely supposed, that the House of Hanover would have difficulty in placing itself on the throne. It was thought that if the Pretender and his friends could only establish themselves, with some show of strength and popularity, either in England or Scotland, ready for the coming emergency, that, when it arose, by rapid movement acquiring strength through growing enthusiasm and loyalty for the legitimate race, he might march on London—appeal to the people, who are always ready to be moved by courageous resolution—then fortify himself, so as to draw to his side the influential men who, as in William's day, would want to jump to the winning side—and thus secure the crown.

During the year of the consummation of the Peace, and for a year before, the partisans of both the House of Hanover and of Stuart, apprehending the speedy decease of the Queen, were indefatigable in their efforts and incessant in their intrigues. Constant communication was kept up, by means of agents, spies and partisans, between the courts of either House and those of influence about the English court. Women and men, Noble and Priest, Sectarians and fortune-seekers, low intriguers and those high in office, were all more or less anxious on either side, and active in furthering the respective interests of the rival Houses. Of

course, the Hanoverian cause, being that of a Protestant family, had the most adherents: hatred of France and dread of Popery had become permanent features of the English character; and with both those influences the "Chevalier" had to contend: but, in spite of their numbers and their strength, the partisans of the House of Hanover were by no means without apprehension as to the future. So alarmed were they by the activity of the Pretender, and the strong sympathy that seemed to prevail for him throughout the Court, that continued efforts were made to induce either the Elector or the Electoral Prince to come over to England; and this step was considered almost essential to their interests. To give him an English aspect, the ministry of 1706 had caused the Electoral Prince to be chosen a Knight of the Garter, and had created him Duke of Cambridge; but the Queen was so averse to having any of the Electoral family appear in England, during her later lifetime, and made such strong protest against it, that neither the Elector nor his son made the desired appearance in that country.

The Pretender saw how necessary it was for his cause, however, that, before the Queen's decease, he should be able to show himself to the English people, and be on the spot, ready for prompt action when her reign closed. To further this, he made frequent and earnest appeals to Queen Anne, to be allowed to visit England, even in a private capacity; and offered to go, attended only by a single page—in order to arrive at some settlement with her, as to the future.

In May, 1711, he had thus written to his sister: "To you and to you alone, I wish to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God and of nature are loud in your ears. The preservation of our family, the preventing unnatural wars, the prosperity of our country, all combine to require you to rescue me from affliction and yourself from misery. Though restrained by your difficult situation, I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother—the last male of an ancient line, to the remotest relation we have in the World. Neither you nor this nation have received

any injury at my hand. Therefore, Madam, as you tender your own honor and happiness, as you love your family, as you revere the memory of your father, as you regard the welfare and safety of a great people, I conjure you to meet, in this friendly way of composing our difference. The happiness of both depends upon your resolution."

There is no doubt that the warmest sympathizer that the Pretender had, in England, was Queen Anne. Besides entertaining a strong natural feeling of sisterly affection—she commiserated the exile and the wanderer—outcast for no fault of his own—she and her brother were the last of a great line of kings—she had no love for the House of Hanover, whose dull merits were continually dinned in her ears, and the efforts to bring some of the family over to England, before her decease, she considered an outrage on her as a woman, and an insult to her as a Sovereign. A motion made, after the Peace, by the Earl of Wharton, that a reward should be offered for apprehending the Pretender—dead or alive—excited her peculiar indignation, and strengthened her aversion to the Hanoverians:—as also a request made by the Elector that her brother should be removed to Italy. "Every new application to the Queen," says Somerville, who wrote not long after the Peace, "was a knell to her heart, confirming, by the voice of a nation, those fearful apprehensions, which arose from a sense of her increasing infirmities. The loss of all her children bore the aspect of an angry Providence adjusting punishment to the nature and quality of her offence. Wounded in spirit and prone to superstition, she naturally thought of the restitution of the crown to her brother as the only atonement she could make to the memory of her injured father." If the Pretender could have persuaded himself to change his religion, there is no doubt that Queen Anne would not only have given him all her sympathy but her active and open support. "All would be easy," she remarked to the Duke of Buckingham, "should he enter the pale of the Church of England. Advise him to change his religion, as that only can change the opinions of mankind in his favor."

Besides the Queen, there were many others of the power-

ful people about the Court, who, apparently, at least, favored the young Prince;—some with sincerity—some with a desire to appear to be on his side in case his star should be in the ascendant. The Bishop of Rochester, the Earl of Mar, Ormond, Harcourt, Godolphin and the Earl of Strafford were all his pronounced adherents. Marlborough, in 1711, always looking out for himself, variously offered his services, as fortune favored, both to the Pretender and the Elector; and, even before that year, under indignation at the removal of his son-in-law, Sunderland, from office, had intrigued with the Court of St. Germain, and tendered his sword to the Stuart cause: and, it is supposed, that when, after his dismissal from office, he retired from England to the Continent, he had done so, under intimation from those in authority, that it would be wise for him to leave the kingdom because of his known proclivities for the Stuart dynasty. The views of Harley in the matter of the English succession, were always a matter of doubt: both sides claimed him, as well as his fellow trimmer, St. John. Some time prior to the final closing of the treaty the Pretender had, according to its proposed terms, requiring his removal from France, taken refuge in the dominions of his friend and partisan, the Duke of Lorraine, at Bar-le-Duc; where the Earl of Middleton acted as his Secretary of State. During the years 1712 and 1713, the correspondence between the exiled Prince and his advisers in France and Lorraine, and the Jacobite party in England and Scotland, extended through representatives of all classes, in the latter countries. Great and particular efforts were made, by the Court at Lorraine, to cause Harley to take sides against the House of Hanover. There is no doubt that Harley, at one time, lent an attentive ear to the Jacobite emissaries, and gave them reason to suppose that, at the proper time, he might take sides with them. Among the Stuart papers extant are letters between Jacobite partisans showing that Harley had, at least, indirect communication with the Pretender, and professed to favor him, representing to the adherents of the latter that the proper policy was that their chief should change his religion, in order to secure success. At the same time, how-

ever, Harley was evidently trimming towards the other side. One of the Jacobite emissaries, in England, thus wrote to Lorraine: "Harley is for dividing the employments between High and Low Church, and for having the choosing of them himself: hoping, by that means, to be master, whoever gets the crown." In a letter from the Earl of Middleton to "Berry," an adherent of the Pretender, (March 9, 1713,) we find these words, in cryptogram: "This old Parliament is tractable: Harley has an ascendant over it; and he cannot be sure of having the same credit over its successor, nor that Queen Anne herself will be then in being, and in a condition to support him. England speaks favorably of the King, (the Pretender,) at present; and the generality of the English are dissatisfied with the Hanoverians' late behavior: but these gentlemen being changeable, their hearts may cool. All this considered, I confess I cannot see any prudent reason for Harley's dilatory proceedings: but he, being the chiefest lawyer, and his own interest being so much concerned, the King must be governed by him, and comply with what he cannot help, and, in the mean time, have patience, and hope the best."

As an illustration of Harley's (Oxford's) secret resolves, it may be noted, that when the Whigs had invited the Elector of Hanover to come over with an army, when Queen Anne was in a low condition of health, Harley introduced a motion, apparently aimed at the Pretender, but evidently to check the movement of the Whigs, that "for the further security of the succession it should be made high treason to bring foreign troops into the kingdom." It has been supposed by many, that the key to the whole action of Harley, (Lord Oxford,) and Bolingbroke, in deserting the allies, and precipitating the peace, was their desire to change the Hanover succession, and bring in the Pretender through French influence. Evidence is not wanting to show that this design was one of long deliberation. Why, it has been argued, should the policy of ministers, during the years 1712 and 1713, have been so directly against the interest of the allies, in many regards, and so conciliatory tow-

ards France, unless they had some secret and ulterior design, besides Peace—in which design France might be useful to them? The separate negotiations with France were conducted in a surreptitious manner, quite apart from the other allies; and false statements were continually made to the Dutch, as to the attitude and intentions of England, and as to the condition of the negotiations with France, as they progressed. All the transactions with the Dutch are charged as marked with duplicity and bad faith.

In the minutes or records of the operations of M. Menager in London, in the year 1711, in arranging the preliminaries between Great Britain and France, an account is given of a secret transaction, which has an interesting bearing upon the clause in the Treaty, as to the “Protestant succession.” This transaction was conducted through the ever busy Lady Masham, and was to the effect that, although in any treaty to be made, a recognition of the Hanoverian succession would have to be one of the articles—in order to please the general English public—yet, that the Queen *might have a secret understanding with Louis XIV.; so that, if circumstances warranted it, he was to act in behalf of the Stuart succession.*

Lady Masham is reported to have thus expressed herself to M. Menager, as related by the latter. “That the Queen was obliged, not only against her disposition, but even against her principles, to further and promote *the continuance of the usurpation*—not only, beyond her own life, but forever. That I (Menager) might be sure, under such circumstances, that it would be an inexpressible satisfaction to her Majesty, to see herself delivered from the fatal necessity of doing so much wrong; and if it could be possible, with safety to the religion and liberties of her subjects, to have her brother restored to his right, at least after her decease, if it could not be done before. That the Queen did not see through all this: and it seemed next to impossible, the rage and unreconcilable aversion of the common people to her brother, being grown to such a height · and that the Queen found it would be impossible to enter upon any treaty of peace, or so much as let the people hear of put-

ting an end to the war, without entering into the strongest engagements possible, for the confirming the succession in the House of Hanover—"a thing that I am sure," continued Mrs. Masham, '*is all our aversions* ; and we have no retreat except to his most Christian Majesty, in hopes of his ordering things so at this treaty, that he may be at liberty to support and assist, in this work, whenever an opportunity should present itself.' That to this end the Plenipotentiaries from hence, though there was no communicating anything to them by way of confidence, should be instructed not to insist upon anything more than necessity obliged, '*and some reserves, sure,*' says she, '*may be made to leave room for justice to take place for time to come.*'"

Menager, upon his arrival at Utrecht, where, as has been seen, he acted as one of the Plenipotentiaries of France, found that the British diplomatists there had not received the "private instructions" which Lady Masham gave reason to expect would be sent to them—but he ascertained, afterwards, that the Ministers in England had had some secret negotiations with the Pretender's agents in that country, which were not at all satisfactory to the latter ; they complained to the King of France, that they could not bring the English Ministers to any point, who only said that "a *person* would be sent to Utrecht, charged with the matter."

M. Menager afterwards acknowledged that he had been hoodwinked by promises from the Earl of Oxford ; but the Jacobites claimed that it was through their instrumentality that the clause as to the "succession" was allowed to be inserted in the Treaty, and through their influence with the French king that the Peace was permitted to be concluded.

There is another interesting episode in connection with the provision in the Treaty above referred to.

The Duke of Hamilton, nominated minister to France, was killed in a duel by Lord Mohun as he was preparing to leave England, in November, 1712. As appears by various letters, and documents, the Duke was selected for the mission with the special object that he was to procure the Irish troops in the French service to be conveyed clandestinely, with the Pretender, to Scotland. The scheme of Queen

Anne and the ministry is stated to have been, that, thereupon, a treaty should be entered into with the Pretender, so soon as he was fairly established in Scotland, by which the Queen was to permit him to remain, during her life, in that country, with the character of presumptive heir to the Crown; and his friends in Parliament were so numerous that the Queen was sanguine that she could cause the act of settlement to be repealed.

In the year of the Queen's decease, also, the Duke of Ormond, who was Captain General of the Army, made strenuous efforts to place those in command who were in the interest of the Pretender. Officers supposed to be well affected were courted and advanced in the service, and those who were firm for the Protestant succession were provoked to resign. Those who were doubtful were privately interviewed, and asked if they would come into the Queen's measures, and "*obey her Majesty in everything without asking questions,*" and suspicious officers were directed to retire.

The Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Stair, and others of high rank, were ordered to give up their military positions; and vacancies were filled with Papists or Jacobites. In fact, the army was being rapidly purged of all except those who were inclined to the Stuart cause, which was openly advocated in conversation, and by pamphlets freely circulated.

The pertinacious adherence by the Pretender, however, to the Roman faith caused the failure of all plans in his behalf. His persistency in this decision was creditable to his honor and to his principles. It was asserted by him, in response to all applications to change his religious faith, that any change that he might make, in that regard, would not be considered sincere—and he would moreover go upon the throne, if he professed the religious belief desired, with the consciousness of being a deceiver and a hypocrite.

CHAPTER XXXI.

After the Peace.—Queen Anne.—Her Address to Parliament.—Action of that Body.—Quarrel between Oxford and Bolingbroke.—Death of the Queen.—Disgrace of Oxford and Bolingbroke.—Ormond, Strafford and Prior indicted for High Treason.—Atterbury's Punishment.—Marlborough's Return.—The Rancor of the Powers continued.—Attempts to violate the Treaty.—Philip's efforts to regain his Dominions.—Alberoni's Schemes.—The Triple Alliance.—The Quadruple Alliance.—War renewed.—Repression of Philip.

THE Peace was very much, practically, the work of Queen Anne. Many of the actions of Oxford and Bolingbroke, in bringing it to a conclusion, were the results of her personal direction. She, frequently, attended the meetings of the Ministers; and is related to have proposed, in council, the orders rendering Ormond's army inactive. Bolingbroke was going to object to them, as he subsequently stated; but, after the Queen had delivered her views to the Council, "she made a sign with her fan at her mouth," which the Lords knew she never made, except when she was determined on a measure. Bolingbroke and the others thereupon acquiesced, although he, subsequently, sought to throw the blame upon Oxford.

Queen Anne, no doubt, felt a deep personal interest in carrying to a successful termination the negotiations at Utrecht. Her efforts for it, during the last three years, had been unceasing; and to bring it about she had promoted the great change of political parties and of ministers in Great Britain.

The war of the "Succession" had been begun at the commencement of her reign; and, as a woman and as a humanitarian, she had felt that it was time that the devastation and carnage throughout Europe should cease—and as a Sovereign, that the interests of the great States she governed would have their interests materially promoted by Peace. To her persistent efforts much of the credit of ter-

minating the past terrible period of bloodshed and misery is due.

Towards the end of April, 1713, the Queen thus addressed Parliament: "I have deferred opening the session, until now;—being desirous to communicate to you, at your first meeting, the success of this important affair. It is, therefore, with pleasure, I tell you, the Treaty is signed; and in a few days the ratifications will be exchanged. The negotiation has been drawn into so great a length, that all our allies have had sufficient opportunity to adjust their several interests. What I have done for securing the Protestant succession, and the perfect friendship there is between me and the house of Hanover, may convince such who wish well to both, and desire the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts are to divide us."

The two houses thereupon, after some opposition in the Lords, passed a resolution of thanks and confidence in the Queen; although the texts of the Treaties had not yet been put before them. Ratifications were exchanged on the 28th of April; and on the 5th of May, the Peace was announced, by proclamation.

On the texts of the Treaties being submitted to Parliament, there was much dispute over the terms of the Treaty of Commerce with France; but, with some difficulty, through the exertions of ministers, a vote of thanks and congratulation to the Queen was carried: but this sanction was of no protection to them from the wrath of the Whigs, as subsequent events proved. Shortly, afterwards, a vote was passed, praying the Queen to take measures to have the Pretender removed from Lorraine, where he had established his Court: to which request the Queen returned a curt and somewhat equivocal answer: her feelings towards her brother and the Stuart party grew stronger, daily, and her aversion to the House of Hanover more pronounced. The sentiments of her ministers, also, as has been seen, were somewhat in accord with her own; and, had her reign been prolonged, the Stuart party might have gained such strength as to have made the accession of the House of

Hanover in Great Britain, quite as difficult as was that of Philip V., in Spain.

Not long after the conclusion of the Congress, at Utrecht, Marlborough and his Whig friends had some consolation for their numerous defeats and the indignities which had been heaped upon them, in the dissensions which arose between their two great opponents, Oxford and Bolingbroke,—rivals in ambition and power. When at the height of their influence and rule, after Marlborough had been disgraced, the Whigs utterly subdued, and the peace accomplished, they became competitors for the royal favor, and contended for supreme political ascendancy: their feelings towards each other became most bitter and vindictive—the stronger for their past accord and the knowledge of each other's secrets and character. Bolingbroke supposed he had been used as a "cat's paw," to do all the hard work, and to receive most of the blame connected with the Treaty. He also nurtured a feeling of jealousy against Oxford, in that the latter had been created an "Earl"—while he, Bolingbroke,—the genius—the scholar—the statesman—was only made a Viscount. Bolingbroke, too, had been refused the honor of the "*Garter*" by his coadjutor, when the latter had, at his disposal, several of the appendages of that much coveted but absurd "order."

There was also a question on the division of certain profits to be made out of the nefarious "*Assiento*" or slave compact, in which the Queen, the two Ministers and Lady Masham, in accordance with the political morals of the times, were to have a share. Oxford, for some reason, had refused to take his portion, which made the others suspicious of him. Lady Masham, formerly Oxford's great ally, had also a special grudge against him, for a matter arising out of the Quebec expedition, from which she had expected to make a large sum of money. Oxford had refused her what she had desired—but Bolingbroke, subsequently, acquired it for her; and thus gained her good-will.

The Queen was much inclined to favor Bolingbroke, who had managed, now, entirely to win to his side, the *confidante*, Masham. Bolingbroke, also, had adroitly expressed

his predilection for the Stuart restoration ; and, thereby, won much additional favor from Queen Anne, who daily, as she grew older and weaker, in spite of her speeches to Parliament, became more indisposed toward the House of Hanover, and yearned, with a family feeling, towards her exiled brother, who, by the terms of the Treaty, was to be exiled from French territory.

Oxford's disgrace is supposed to have been also due to the machinations of the friends of the Pretender, whose views on the subject, in complaint of Oxford's lukewarmness, are said to have been communicated to the Queen : * his dilatory and suspicious policy had irritated and disappointed them ; and they looked upon the bold, adventurous Bolingbroke as the proper man to be the champion of their party at the English court.

In fact, when Bolingbroke became virtually Prime Minister, he projected a Cabinet substantially of Jacobites : among them figured Atterbury, the intriguing Bishop of Rochester, Ormond, Harcourt, and the Earl of Strafford : the Earl of Mar, also, was to be Secretary of State for Scotland. Such a Cabinet showed plainly what was to be attempted. Measures were also taken to control the army and to secure certain important ports and fortresses.

By the fall of his opponent, who was dismissed from office, the triumph of Bolingbroke seemed complete : but fortune turned against him, and the Queen, worn out by the violent altercations carried on, even in her presence, by her two ministers, which she declared "would finish her," died on the 1st of August, 1714, three days after the dismissal of Oxford,—and both the two prominent actors in the conclusion of the great treaty of Utrecht, on the peaceable accession of the Hanover dynasty, fell into disgrace—and soon disappeared from the political scene.

When feeling that her end was near, the Queen sent for the Bishop of London and made a sort of confession to him, particularly relating to her brother. As the Bishop took leave of her to go out of the room, he said, aloud, in the presence of the Duchess of Ormond and others there ;

* See Appendix.

"Madame, I will obey your commands—I'll declare your mind—but it will cost me my head!" The Queen proposed to receive the Sacrament on the next day ; but died before it could be administered.

As she lay on her death-bed, frequently crying out in her distress of mind and body, "Oh, my brother—what will become of you?—Oh—my poor brother!" staunch Jacobites were holding secret council in an adjoining room, and endeavoring to induce Ormond, the Captain General of the army, to take the bold step of proclaiming the Pretender. Ormond's resolution, however, failed him ; and the Elector of Hanover came over to his new kingdom, and took possession with no disturbance, except the occasional hootings of the mob at the German interloper and his brace of coarse mistresses.

The Whigs, on their accession to power, bitterly resenting the treatment they had received, at the hands of the two fallen statesmen, immediately undertook their punishment. When George's first Parliament was assembled, in the spring of 1715, one of the first steps taken was to appoint a special Committee, to inquire into the secret negotiations that had preceded the Peace of Utrecht, and the commercial Treaty with France. Robert Walpole was the first chairman. In about two months the committee produced their report, which was a very searching and elaborate one, and highly denunciatory of the late Ministers. On its being presented to the House, Harley* and Prior were taken into custody.

The report charges that many books, letters and reports, inculcating the late Ministers, had been destroyed by them. The principal facts found by the committee related to the secret intrigues carried on by the Ministers with France, apart from the allies ; the charge being, that the action of the former was a betrayal of the interests of their country and that of the allies—all in the interest of France. The report further charges that the whole proceedings at Utrecht were made subordinate to the machinations of Oxford and Bolingbroke ; and that the refusal of the French Plenipotentiaries to give their answers in writing

* Brother of Oxford.

to the "demands" of the various allies at Utrecht, was concerted with the English Ministers; and that the French were given to understand that business was not to be done at Utrecht, but by negotiations directly between London and Versailles; and that the Dutch were forced to come into the Queen's measures without knowing what they were, and that the withdrawal of Ormond's forces was made in order to force them (the Dutch) to do so. The charge is also made that the orders to Ormond to withdraw his troops were directly in the interest of France, and led to the defeat of the allies, at Denain. Bolingbroke's secret negotiations in person with De Torcy are also denounced, and his neglect to make any provision in favor of the Catalans. His operations also are all charged as having for their motive the bringing in of the Pretender. The two Ministers are also accused with having deceived the Queen, as to the true state of affairs, and with inserting false statements in her speeches to Parliament.

Walpole, who had his own personal grudge against the fallen statesmen, and who was inclined to consider all men as rogues, on the presentation of the report, denounced the late Ministers, in a bitter and vehement speech, as corrupt and unprincipled traitors; and only two members of the House stood up to oppose their impeachment. It was evident that there would be no favor with the new Ministry, or at Court, for those who should dare to take the side of the accused. Justice or truth, in those days, weighed lightly against self-interest; which seems to have been the main political "principle." George I. had no liking for Oxford or Bolingbroke. As Elector, he was strongly opposed to the Peace, on the terms on which it was made; and, in 1711, when the preliminary terms of Peace were beginning to be promulgated, had strongly written to Oxford deprecating any peace by which Spain and the Indies should be left to Philip. The old Electress, Sophia, had expressed herself in the same manner. In writing to the Earl of Strafford, she says, "If you had been willing to accept Peace on *those terms*, a great deal of blood and a great deal of the money of England might have been saved."

The feeling of the new King, therefore, was strong against the Ministers who had been engaged in negotiations for a peace which had caused the desertion of the German troops by their English allies, and the subsequent defeats of the former, owing to such desertion.

George I., also, had been well informed of the schemes and double dealing of Oxford and Bolingbroke; and, in spite of their many letters and despatches sent to him, during the last few years, overflowing with expressions of zeal for his service, he believed that they were disaffected towards his family, and would have prevented his accession to the Crown, if they had been able to do so.

The Elector had not been very anxious to leave his dominions, to reign in Great Britain; and the intrigues and the troubles connected with the succession, particularly during the year 1714, became so great, that he began to be quite indifferent about the throne he saw it was so difficult to mount. Still—now that he had secured it—he knew who had been his opponents and was quite willing to have them punished: and, on his arrival in England had treated the fallen ministers with contumely; and Bolingbroke—although still, nominally, Secretary of State—was refused an audience.

These and other signs were not lost upon that adroit statesman. Fully apprehending the coming storm, he was not disposed to wait for it to break on his head; and, escaping in disguise, took refuge in France; where he was, of course, received with enthusiasm. On abruptly quitting England, he left behind the following letter, which was printed and extensively circulated.

“DOVER, 27th March, 1715.

“MY LORD: I left the town so abruptly that I had no time to take leave of you or any of my friends. You will excuse me when you know that I had certain and repeated informations, from some who are in the secret of affairs, that a resolution was taken by those who have the power to execute it, to pursue me to the scaffold. My blood was to be the cement of a new alliance: nor could my inno-

cence be any security, after it had been once demanded, from abroad, and resolved on, at home, that it was necessary *to cut me off*. Had there been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard, by the two houses of Parliament, I should not have declined the strictest examination.

" * * * It is a comfort that will remain with me, in all my misfortunes, that I served her Majesty dutifully and faithfully, in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war; and that I have always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interests of my country to any foreign ally whatsoever: and 'tis for this crime only that I am now driven from thence.

" You will hear from me more at large, in a short time.

" Yours, etc.,

" BOLINGBROKE."

Writing some time afterwards, Bolingbroke thus gives vent to the reasons and feelings that prompted his departure.

" Among several bloody resolutions proposed and agitated, at this time, the resolution of impeaching me of high treason was taken: and I took that of leaving England, not in a panic terror, improved by the artifices of the Duke of Marlborough, whom I knew, even at that time, too well, to act by his advice or information, in any case; but, on such grounds as the proceedings which followed sufficiently justified, and such as I have never repented building upon. Those who blamed it, in the first heat, were soon after obliged to change their language: for what other resolution could I take? The method of prosecution designed against me would have put me out of a condition immediately to act for myself, or to serve those who were less exposed than me, but who were, however, in danger. On the other hand, how few there were on whose assistance I could depend, or to whom I would, even in those circumstances, be obliged! The ferment of the nation was wrought up to a considerable height; but there was, at

that time, no reason to expect that it could influence the proceedings of Parliament in favor of those who should be accused: left to its own movement it was more proper to quicken than to slacken the prosecution, and who was there to guide its motions?"

Bolingbroke, having abandoned the realm, in March, 1715, suffered the proceedings attainting him to treason to go by default. He was formally declared to be degraded from his nobility, to be attainted in blood, and condemned to suffer the penalty of death on the scaffold, should he again set foot in England.

The exiled peer was now free to give his Jacobite proclivities full play, and made his obeisance at the miniature Court, at Lorraine, where he was warmly welcomed, as a valuable addition to the proscribed cause. He was now honored with the title of "*Earl*"—long the object of his desires—and was made Secretary of State to his new sovereign—neither being much of a compensation for his exile, and for being razed from the roll of English Peers.

Not being able to lend himself to all the small machinations and intrigues of the petty Court, at Commercy, and being accused of want of zeal in his new functions, Bolingbroke was dismissed soon after the Pretender's return from his unfortunate expedition to Scotland; and, singularly enough, was put under impeachment by that personage, for not properly attending to the duties of Secretary of State, in matters relating to the expedition: against all which Bolingbroke made explanations that showed that the failure of the enterprise could not properly be laid to his door. Being dismissed by the Pretender, Bolingbroke passed, for a time, at Paris a very gay existence; his life in the French capital showing him less of a philosopher than his writings would have us believe. He subsequently was fortunate, his wife having died, in marrying a French woman of rank, means and high culture.

In due time, another phase occurred in his checkered career. In July, 1716, he was pardoned by George I., so far as his personal safety was concerned, and returned to England in 1723. His pardon was mainly due to the influ-

ence of one of the German adventuresses at the English Court, and prime favorite of the King—the Duchess of Kendal—formerly Madame Schulemberg, commonly called the “*Maypole*.” The intercession of this influential dame with Walpole, obtained for the consideration of eleven thousand pounds, accomplished the desired result. Subsequently Bolingbroke’s estates were restored to him; and except with an occasional abortive effort to obtain political consequence, he finished his days in the pursuits of literature, and in philosophic reflection on the eventful Past. The vicissitudes of life became a favorite subject of his contemplations.

Amid the storm, Oxford remained calm and self-reliant, although accused of high treason, denounced as a traitor and sent to the Tower. His friends advised him to seek safety in flight from the vengeance of his political and personal foes; but, satisfied of the moral rectitude of his past conduct, and conscious of no treasonable action, as a Minister, he preferred to await, in England—broken in fortune and health—the issue of what fate had still in store for him.

“They were quite mistaken,” remarks Pope, “who thought to get rid of him, by advising him to make his escape from the Tower. He would have set out the storm, let the danger be what it would. He was a steady man, and had a great firmness of soul; and would have died unconcernedly, or perhaps, like Sir Thomas More, with a jest in his mouth.” None of the charges against Oxford could have been proved as matters of fact, and, even if they had, would not, properly, have subjected him to the charge of Treason. He had acted as a Tory Minister, representing the Tory party and its professed views and principles; and had used his power, as head of that party, to carry out those views and principles—which were also those of his sovereign. A schism, in the Whig ranks, prevented Oxford’s trial from coming to any conclusion; and he was released from imprisonment, after two years’ confinement, much to the chagrin of the extreme Whigs, and, particularly so, to Marlborough and his friends, who had been restored to honor and power. Oxford’s after life was peace-

fully passed (like that of his rival), in the pursuits of literature—apart from the cares of state, and the risks and toils of a political life. Pope's fine lines on Oxford may here be recalled :

“ A soul supreme—in each hard instance tried,
Above all pain, all passion, and all pride,
The rage of power, the blast of public breath,
The lust of lucre, and the dread of death.”

Another busy figurant on these historic scenes also, at this time, disappeared. Ormond, under apprehension of an impeachment for high treason, hurriedly left England. He tried to persuade Oxford to fly with him, but the latter stolidly refused. Their parting words are said to have been, “ Farewell, Oxford, without a head ! ”—to which Oxford responded, “ Farewell, Duke, without a Duchy ! ” Ormond never returned to England, but took part in the rash expedition of the Pretender, in 1715.

The Earl of Strafford, one of the English Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, was also impeached, by the triumphant Whigs, for high crimes and misdemeanors. He was accused of being the adviser of measures most dishonorable to England, and pernicious to her interests ; and, as being the “ tool of a *Frenchified Ministry* ! ” The Bishop of Bristol, another of the Plenipotentiaries, was, apparently, not troubled : he, as well as Strafford, being probably finally considered as mere instruments, moved by the leading minds, who conducted the political game, outside of the Congress.

Prior, also, a humbler but active performer in the peace proceedings, was thrown into prison, under charges of high treason, based principally upon his secret negotiations with France, in 1712, and for having secretly harbored in his house, Menager and the Abbé Gaultier, by whom the clandestine peace negotiations were initiated. After remaining in prison for about two years, he was discharged, without trial. Bishop Atterbury, also, the constant Tory and the persistent Jacobite, felt the wrath of the Whigs. Atterbury was a man of great learning and independent

spirit, and the boldest of the Jacobites in England. Although apparently devoted to spiritual matters and literary pursuits, he had been a busy political plotter for many years past ; and kept up a direct correspondence with the Pretender. In spite of his sworn allegiance to the House of Hanover, he continued his plotting, after George was on the throne. In 1717, he had thus written to the Pretender: "My daily prayer is that you may have success: may I live to see that day, and live no longer than I do what is in my power to forward it." On the discovery of a new plot to bring in the Stuart Prince, a bill of Pains and Penalties was brought in against the Bishop, and he was deprived of his spiritual dignities and banished for life. He left England, in 1723, and lived in France for nine years: his body was brought to England in 1732, and interred in his vault in Westminster Abbey.

With the new dynasty Marlborough reappeared in England. In spite of his proclivities for the Stuarts, and the offer of his services to the Jacobite House, Marlborough, after his humiliation in England, had managed to remain on very good terms with the Elector.

During the war, he and the Elector had kept up an active correspondence, military and otherwise ; and the former was, generally, informed by Marlborough of army plans and movements.

Marlborough's letters were full of zeal and hope for the Hanoverian succession ; and the Elector's communications were friendly, and full of appreciation of the Duke's great services to the allies. Under date of August, 1710, a letter was written by Marlborough to the Elector, expressing his strong attachment for the Electoral family, and charging Harley and his party with a design to bring back the Stuarts. In a communication, also, written on April 11, 1713, Marlborough thanks the Elector for giving him two and a-half per cent. on the moneys received for the pay of the latter's troops ; and also acknowledges, with profuse thanks, the reception of a commission to act as commander of the English troops, immediately on the Queen's decease. He

also, in the letter, advises the Elector to go over to England, without delay.

It therefore appears that Marlborough and the Elector were on very good terms, at about the date of the signing of the peace: and yet, the Elector was always suspicious of the great commander; he knew of the latter's double dealings and of his recent intercourse with the Stuarts; and although desiring to keep on good terms with so powerful and useful a subject, and having a high regard for his genius and appreciation of his military exploits, did not venture to entrust him, on coming to the throne, with any high post connected with affairs of State. Marlborough was much chagrined not to find his name among the Lord Justices for the "*quasi*" Regency of the Kingdom, until King George should appear. He was, however, restored to his military commands, which, now, were attended with few active duties.

It took a long time for the passions of the belligerents to cool, after the heat and bitterness of the long war; the great Peace did not seem stable—and no one was satisfied. The rancor between the Emperor and Philip V., for a long time, was unappeased; and there was no provision, in the Treaty with the Emperor, by which Philip's right to the Spanish throne was acknowledged.

It seemed as if the Treaties made for the repose of Europe were only to be temporary compacts—merely to give breathing time for new attacks by States, thirsting for dominion and jealous of each other's power. No sooner, in fact, were they made, than many of the Sovereigns, that seemed heartily to concur in them, set to work to evade their provisions.

Louis XIV. delayed, so long, the stipulated razing of Dunkirk, as to awaken the apprehension of Great Britain. When, at last, under remonstrance, he could no longer decently postpone the work of demolition, he avoided the spirit of the Treaty, by pushing on, rapidly, the work of a new canal at Moerdyk, which was of unusual width and had communication, from the sea, with the basin at Dunkirk: this new canal was to be protected by forts and bastions.

Louis' letter, in answer to the remonstrances of the British Ministry, with reference to Dunkirk and the alleged building of the harbor at Moerdyk, was to the effect that Dunkirk was, in fact, being entirely razed; and that the new canal, at Moerdyk, was merely to receive the waters of other smaller canals, and to keep the country from being submerged, by securing proper outlets to the sea. This reply was not satisfactory to the British Ministry; and such strong remonstrances were sent to Paris, on the subject, that the works at Moerdyk were eventually suspended.

Louis, also, took no pains to put a stop, within his dominions, to the schemes of the Pretender whose Court was still plotting not only at Lorraine but in France. That personage continued to receive secret aid from the French King, whose constitutional animosity against England did not seem to be abated by the Peace.

The Regent of France, who succeeded Louis XIV., was disposed to keep the peace with England: although evidently favoring the Pretender, and subsequently giving him substantial aid in spite of the terms of the Treaty. By the Regent's laxity, in the matter, the Pretender was able to make his preparations for the expedition of 1715; and had no difficulty in embarking from Dunkirk, in the autumn of that year.

THE ATTEMPTS OF PHILIP AND ALBERONI, AND RENEWAL OF THE WAR.

The Spanish King, no longer a beleaguered fugitive, flying about his Kingdom, particularly chafed under the terms of the Treaty. The varying fortunes of the war of the Succession had schooled him in making ventures and taking risks, and had developed in him, energy and combative qualities. He longed to be, again, a great figure in European politics, and aimed, as a conqueror, to imitate the career of his great predecessor, Charles V. Gibraltar, in the possession of the English and commanding the Mediterranean, was a continual irritation to the national pride, and Philip was eager to be again in the field, at the

head of his faithful Spaniards, to attempt the reconquest of that fortress and of his former Italian possessions. The new Queen of Philip, Elizabeth of Parma, was particularly active and diligent in her efforts to persuade him to recover the former possessions of Spain in Italy. Another great agitator now appeared upon the European political scene.

Guilio Alberoni was the son of an Italian vine-dresser—brought up to the Church; and was advanced through the favor of the Duke of Vendôme, with whom he acted as Secretary in some of his campaigns, and who was pleased with his obsequiousness and coarse manners. Alberoni was assisted, also, by the Princess des Ursins—who ruled the court—but, subsequently, on the introduction of Elizabeth of Parma as Queen of Spain, he ungratefully assisted the Queen in driving out the famous Camarera mayor of her predecessor.

This man, subsequently created cardinal, became Prime Minister of Philip, in Spain, in 1714, and ruled the Court and the State, with a master hand. Ambitious and unscrupulous, he desired to play the *rôle* of a Richelieu in European affairs, and adopted a violent and aggressive foreign policy. To carry out his views he kept the King secluded from all approach, and set to work to scatter to the winds the great Treaties of Utrecht, and to create bad blood between France and Spain and break up the friendship and alliance between the two countries connected as they were by the ties of blood and interest, which it was vainly hoped would have made their concord perfect, for many generations. Alberoni had three grand plans in view. The first was to create a revolution, in Great Britain, in favor of the Pretender; and, in that view, to give him material aid and support: the second was to recover for Spain her former Italian possessions; and the third plan was to provoke a Revolution in France, by which the Regency might be taken from the Duke of Orleans; and the Crown of France, in violation of the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht and the renunciations, be placed upon the head of Philip—his son, the Prince of Asturias, to remain in Spain, as sovereign over that country.

To carry out the first plan, Alberoni made a compact with the King of Sweden, by which that monarch was to make a descent in Scotland, with a large force, to operate with the Jacobites, in that country. To carry out his plan for the recovery of Spain's former possessions in Italy, Alberoni entered into a compact with the Sultan; by which the Turks were to make a diversion, by attacking Hungary, while Spanish forces were to take possession of Sicily.

To carry out the plan of revolutionizing France and driving out the Regent, a sudden illness of the young King, which seemed of a serious character, gave favorable opportunity. Cellamare, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, received instructions to begin a series of intrigues there, and to build up a party adverse to the Regency. Cellamare had little trouble in gaining over to his views the Duke du Maine, who had been degraded, by the Regent, from his rank as Prince of the blood, which rank, although a bastard son of Louis XIV., he had enjoyed by a decree of Parliament. The Duchess du Maine was also deep in the conspiracy; also the Cardinal de Polignac, and many other influential people, particularly those in the Magistracy, Church and Parliament, who were disgusted with the Regent, his policy, his morals and his wild financial schemes. Many adherents of the old Court were, also, prominent in the matter.

The daring project was formed to seize the person of the Regent, by three hundred armed conspirators disguised as members of the body-guard, and to carry him into Spain. But there were too many persons concerned in the conspiracy, for the preservation of the secrecy necessary for its success: it was soon brought to light, and Cellamare, although an Ambassador, was put under arrest, and, soon after, sent back to Spain.

We find, at this time, existing the extraordinary combination of France, Great Britain and Holland, rendered apprehensive by the various designs of Alberoni and the Spanish Court, engaged by a Treaty of triple alliance, entered into, in January, 1717, in order to put a stop to the ambitious proceedings of Philip and his aggressive Minister. This

Treaty was brought about, mainly, by the indefatigable exertions of the Abbé Dubois, the sagacious Minister of the Regent, who saw its necessity to prevent another general European war: and to firmly establish the Regent in his power and government. By the terms of this compact, in return for the assistance of France to check the operations of the Pretender, and to oppose the operations of Alberoni, in that regard, the principles and terms of the Treaty of Utrecht were confirmed by Great Britain, and the succession in France as provided by that Treaty, as well as the Protestant succession in Great Britain, were to be maintained by force of arms: and the troops to be supplied by each Power, for those purposes, were apportioned. France was to cause the Pretender to leave Avignon where he then was, and to make his residence beyond the Alps—and he was thereafter to have no shelter in France or in Holland. By the terms of this Treaty, also, the Port of Moerdyk was to be destroyed; and no harbor was to be dug within six miles of Dunkirk; but the canal at Moerdyk was to remain, for the purposes of commerce and navigation.

This treaty of the "Triple Alliance," although one of wise policy, was most unpopular in France. It was considered dishonorable that that country should be put under conditions, by Great Britain, to remove a foreign prince from French territory; and should stipulate, further, to drive him beyond the Alps; and the condition to destroy the works at Moerdyk was deemed a weak and servile act of complaisance towards Great Britain.

In the mean while Alberoni, having gained the support of Sweden, boldly invaded Sardinia and attacked Sicily: but the great Powers became aroused; and, under the obligations of the above alliance, the Spanish fleet was completely defeated by that of the English, off Sicily; and another fleet, sailing to give aid to the Pretender, in his operations against Great Britain, was wrecked in the Bay of Biscay.

A further alliance was formed between the Great Powers at the end of July, 1818.

Here we find, in less than six years after the Peace of Utrecht, the Emperor joined with France and Great Britain to oppose Spain, the former great ally of France; and the Regent of France arrayed in arms against his cousin. Holland also became a party to this compact, called in History the "Quadruple Alliance."

By the terms of this Quadruple Alliance, the Emperor was to renounce all right to the Spanish Territory over which Philip V. was then reigning; and the King of Spain was to be forever deprived of his former Italian dominions, but might retain his right of succession to the Duchies of Parma and Tuscany. The compact also provided that no protection or refuge should be given to the Pretender in the territories of any of the contracting Powers, nor any succor given to him by arms, money or otherwise. The Treaty also provided that the Powers were bound to respect and preserve the respective dominions and subjects of each other; and confirmed, expressly, the Treaties of Utrecht as to the "succession" in France and Great Britain respectively.

By Article VI. of this Treaty, the Emperor was to have Sicily in exchange for Sardinia, the Duke of Savoy giving his assent thereto, in Nov., 1718.

Spain having refused its assent to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, and persisting in the accomplishment of the above mentioned schemes of dominion, a formal manifesto of grievances was respectively issued by France and Great Britain against the former country.

The French declaration charges Spain with having violated the Treaties of Utrecht and of Baden, and with destroying all the hopes of peace; and with having caused to be apprehended the return of a war as bloody and obstinate as that which, by those treaties, was terminated. It was alleged, that France had neglected nothing to stop the flame of discord that Spain was illuminating, and that, in concert with Great Britain, she had done all in her power to make an advantageous accord between the Emperor and Spain. But, that, as it was evident that the Spanish Minister would not moderate his ambitious projects, and, in order

that the repose of Europe should not be again troubled, the Court of Versailles felt itself obliged, by the terms of the Quadruple alliance, *to declare war against the King of Spain*; but, at the same time, “implored him not to refuse peace to a people who had brought him up in their bosom, and who had generously spent their blood and treasure to maintain him on his throne.”

Spain still holding out in its destructive schemes, a formal declaration of war was made against that country in January, 1719, and early in that year, a French army, under Marshal Berwick, marched over the frontiers of Spain, and took possession of several strong places and Provinces; while an English fleet captured Vigo in Galicia. Great Britain had also declared war against Spain, in Dec., 1718.

In the manifesto of George I., declaring war, are these words:

“And it appearing to us, further, from the conduct of the King of Spain, especially by the instigation and pernicious counsels, as we perceive, of his Chief Minister (by whose advice the true interests of Spain seem entirely sacrificed) that the said king, under pretence of balancing the power of the Emperor, and securing the liberty of the princes of Italy, has raised great armies, equipped great numbers of ships of war, and made unusual preparations by land and sea, which tended to set afoot dangerous designs of breaking through the Treaties of Utrecht and Baden, on which the peace of Europe was founded; and of uniting, as occasion should offer, upon one head, *the Crowns of France and Spain*, the separation whereof has already cost so much blood and treasure; and which ought in all times to come to be prevented, with the utmost attention, and fenced against, by all the means which God hath put into the hands of the neighboring Princes and States concerned in that fatal event.” The King of Spain, seeing that the French troops did not come over to his side, as he had anticipated, and unable to contend against such odds as were opposed to him, was reluctantly compelled to give up his ambitious designs, and proposed a truce. In the mean while the Turks had made peace with Austria, Charles XII. had

been killed, and the Pretender had been unfortunate in all his plans—and peace for Philip had become a necessity. Soon after, in Feb., 1720, he gave in his adhesion to the terms of the “Quadruple alliance;” and, on the demand of France and the Emperor, was compelled to dismiss the restless Alberoni.

Thereafter, in June, 1721, a Treaty, for the mutual guaranty of their respective dominions to each other, as established by the Treaties of Utrecht and Baden, was entered into by France, Great Britain and Spain.

On 30th April, 1725, the final peace was made between the Emperor and Spain. By this Treaty the Emperor Charles VI. at last, acknowledges Philip V. as lawful King of Spain and the Indies, and as the words of the Treaty read, “Will likewise let the said King of Spain, his descendants, heirs and successors, male and female, peaceably enjoy all those dominions of the Spanish monarchy in Europe, in the Indies and elsewhere, the possession whereof was secured to him by the Treaties of Utrecht, and will never molest him in the said possession, directly or indirectly, nor assume to himself any right to the said kingdoms and provinces.”

The “Quadruple Alliance,” however, was kept up; and when Philip, subsequently, in 1726, again sought to form alliances, in order to regain his lost dominions, and in 1727 had actually made an attack on Gibraltar, he was again reduced to tranquillity by the action of the Allied Powers. St. Simon, in remarking on Philip's efforts to regain the French Crown, says, that he could never get out of his head the validity of the renunciation of his grandmother, in connection with the will of Charles II. He could not perceive how that Prince could have a right to dispose of what he could only hold for his own life. He looked upon himself as an usurper, therefore; and, to quiet his scruples, always retained the hope of returning to France, and never would exclude himself entirely from the chance of ascending the throne of his ancestors, if any fatal accident should befall his nephew.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Declining Health of Louis XIV.—Efforts to divert him.—Attacks on Jansenism, by Louis and the Jesuits.—Death of the Duke de Berry.—Last Malady of the King.—His affecting Interview with his Great-grandson.—His Speech to his Ministers.—His last Words.—His Character.—The Views of St. Simon and Voltaire on his Character and Reign.—Effects of his Reign on France.

THIS historical study would be incomplete without some reference to the closing period of the life and reign of Louis XIV., a reign, perhaps, with the exception of that of Bonaparte, the most eventful of modern history.

During the year 1715, the great ruler, who, for a period of upwards of fifty years, had, by his ambitious and restless spirit, kept Europe in a state of agitation and alarm, and whose influence had been that of a master mind for good or evil, advanced in years and bowed down by mental affliction and grave maladies, became, from day to day, more incompetent to wield the extensive powers entrusted to him.

When the great King became failing in his bodily health and despondent in spirit, everything was done about the Court to divert his mind, and overcome the grief, lassitude and *ennui* which oppressed him. Concerts, theatrical exhibitions and other entertainments were arranged, in his private rooms, to give amusement to one who had exhausted life and its pleasures. Actors, dancers and singers, the charms of beauty and the luxuries of the banquet, however, now gave no relief to his jaded mind, nor turned it from its sad contemplations. Madame de Maintenon, who had the task of entertaining him, exclaimed in despair: "What a punishment to have to amuse a man who is no longer to be amused!"

The diversions of Courts, the dreams of ambition, the incense of flattery no longer beguiled him from reflections on the vanity of life, nor from an appreciation of its mourn-

ful realities. He had been chastened in his pride, and humbled in his power. The Past had chronicled disappointments and humiliations, as well as triumphs,—and was reviewed with regret or self-condemnation. The Future opened visions of terror which no reflection on his own grandeur could shut out; and *Conscience*—sternest of judges—began to unfold her pages, and to point to the records of a life of vice, and to deeds of selfishness and crime.

A prey to superstitious influences, and always prone to sectarian bigotry rather than to sincere devotion, the King had taken refuge in a new war against freedom of thought, under the influence of De Maintenon and of his confessor, the Jesuit Le Tellier. Jansenism was now the object of attack; and the famous Bull, "*Unigenitus*," of September, 1713, concocted by Le Tellier and his *confrères*, condemning, as heretical, many theretofore orthodox doctrines of the Roman Church, was the result; and divided the French Church into two bitterly contending parties. One hundred and one propositions upheld by Quesnel and other followers of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, were the subjects of this new crusade by the Pope, the King, and the Jesuits; who formed alliance against anything that looked like Evangelicism in the Holy Church.

Subsequently, the decease of another grandson, the Duke de Berry, added to the many afflictions which desolated the spirit of the King, during these latter days; and dulled the satisfaction he had experienced at overcoming all obstacles, and, at length, restoring peace to his afflicted country. The Duke de Berry died in May, 1714, after a few days' illness, of a mysterious disorder that bore a strong similarity to that which had carried off his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, and the wife of the latter. The deceased Prince is recorded as being sensible, truthful and just—gay and frank in disposition,—and, theretofore, in robust health. Poison was again suspected—but the mysterious hand that gave the cup remained unknown.

The King, himself, about the middle of August, 1715, was attacked by his last malady, in an acute form. His

legs swelled, and gangrene became apparent, which gradually ate away his life, in great suffering. On seeing this, the fickle Court began to waver in its homage, and to flutter towards the long despised Duke of Orleans—the supposed rising sun—who became, now, active in his machinations for the Regency. The temporary relief afforded by palliatives, especially those prescribed by a quack, from Marseilles, who claimed, also, to cure, at times, brought back the sensitive Court, and the crowd about the future Regent sensibly diminished: but the malady was deep and mortal, and neither the subserviency of courtier nor the science of physician, nor the elixir of empiric, could stop the progress of the fell disease, that preyed remorselessly upon the King. The oblivion and relief of sleep, even, was denied him, under the terrible pains that tortured the body and distracted the spirit.

Some days before his decease, he called for the heir to the Crown of France, his little great-grandson, then about five years of age. As he reclined on his last bed, the dying King spoke to his future successor, in the presence of the assembled ministers and nobles, these pathetic and touching words,—words which were ever in the memory of Louis XV.—but never acted on:

“My child, you will soon be the King of a great kingdom,—that which I recommend most strongly to you, is to never forget your obligations towards God. Remember that you owe him all that you are. *Try to preserve peace with your neighbors. I have been too fond of war—do not imitate me in that, nor in the great expenses I have made.* Take advice in all things,—and try to ascertain the best course and follow it. Console your people as much as is in your power, and do that which I have been unable to accomplish, myself. Never forget the obligations you owe to Madame de Ventadour. Madame” (addressing her), “let me embrace him.” Then taking the little child in his arms, and embracing him, the King, deeply affected, said:

“My dear child, I give you my benediction, with my whole heart.” As the little Prince was about being taken off the bed, the King asked for and embraced him again;

and, raising hands and eyes to Heaven, blessed him once more.

The eyes both of King and child were filled with tears, as were also those of all the courtiers and attendants present.

What a pathetic and touching picture! What a striking and beautiful subject for the pencil of painter,—or the verse of poet—for the reflection of the moralist and the philosopher—the once all-powerful monarch now sinking under the burthen of age and disease,—on the verge of the unseen world,—worn down by the weight of long years of care and the desolation that had struck his home,—conscious, at length, of the helplessness of earthly honors,—taking, as a last sad delight, to his arms, the innocent child-king, in all his fresh and bubbling life, and pouring into his wondering ear, as if in confession, some of the errors and the sad experiences of a wearied existence.

Turning then to the assembled Ministers and nobles, the King raising his voice, with earnestness, again spoke:—

“I recommend to you this young King—he is not yet five years old—what want will he not have of your care and fidelity?—Show him the same kindness you have for me. *I recommend you all to avoid wars,—I have made too many,—they were the cause of my loading the people with burthens—and I seek pardon of God for it.*”

Wearied by his thoughts and depressed by the disease that was surely making its dread progress, the once proud monarch—now abased before the King of Kings—exclaimed, at times, as he pondered, with compunction, on his past career:—“My God! life or death is all one to me now!—I only ask you for my salvation.—I have no restitutions to make as a private man, but, as a Prince, who will pay the debts of the Kingdom?—My God! I hope in your mercy.—I suffer—but I do not suffer enough; and that is what afflicts me!”

Lingering in anguish, from day to day, waiting for the event, he cried: “Oh, my God! when will you bestow the grace on me of delivering me from this miserable life? It is a long time since I have desired it, and I ask you for it, now, with my whole soul.”

What a commentary—such dreary words—on past pride and power!

Louis' departure from life was characterized by decency, tranquillity and firmness,—and, it may be said, by repentance towards God and man—a repentance not infrequent, when age and disease have brought home their sad lessons of human helplessness. There was no more affectation of grandeur or superiority; but, there was ever the courtesy that had graced his life, and that caused him, even now, to ask pardon of those at his bedside, who were moved to tears, for the distress he was causing them.

Wearied with these sad scenes, on the 30th of August, in the evening, Madame de Maintenon set off, for St. Cyr—never again to behold the man who had ever treated her with confidence and respect, and whose generous kindness had raised her from obscurity to grandeur in the State.

At length, overcome by the great conqueror of all, and abandoned by her he had loved, on the first of September, Louis XIV. quitted the scenes of his pride and his power. He exclaimed as the sceptre, at last, fell from his relaxing hands—

“Now is the hour of death,—Oh! my God! come to my aid—and hasten to succor me!”

Thus passed from the great political arena, in the 72d year of his age and the 57th of his reign, another royal shadow, to its last account!

The decease of Louis XIV. closed an eventful epoch of European history. An epoch characterized by extraordinary political disturbance among States and Dynasties, and by a series of prolonged contests that spread over Western Europe, and were conducted by leaders whose names are still foremost in the annals of war and statesmanship. The Peace, which terminated this series of international disturbances, is memorable as making great and important changes in the political map of Europe. The development of thought, too, during this period, was marked, and was manifested in the extraordinary progress made in science and art; while master minds, in literature, both in France

and England, contributed to make the epoch brilliant and distinctive.

The decease of Louis XIV. caused no great regret in France;—all classes, even the nobility, seemed to find relief in the cessation of this terrible reign. He left behind him troubles in the church and a discontented Parliament: the Provinces were ruined, the kingdom was left overwhelmed with debt; the long wars had burthened the people with taxation, and the continuous sacrifice of life had brought sorrow to every home. The young nobility, long depressed by the dolorous features of a Court full of superannuated contemporaries of the late King, longed for the life and gayety promised by a new *régime*; and Frenchmen, at large, looked forward, with anxious hope, to some such change in the administration of government as would bring permanent benefit, and give the kingdom prosperity and repose, after the prolonged drain upon its resources and the strain upon its vital powers. The old employees of the Court were glad to get rid of the yoke they had been suffering, and those seeking places were eager for the opportunities afforded by a change of reign.

It is related, that, on the decease of the King, the people gave themselves up to festivities and wild rejoicings, and vociferated imprecations on his memory; and that the funeral *cortège*, which bore his remains from human sight, was obliged to pass through by-roads, to St. Denis, in order to avoid the menaces and disorder of the mob. “The people,” says a contemporary, “thanked God, for their deliverance.”

It would be no easy task to portray, at length, the character and attributes of this great King,—the chief motor in the events of his time, and the grandest of all the actors moving on the historic scene. Born to rule over a great Kingdom and a chivalrous and warlike people—with a power despotic, and a will left to its own biddings—receiving an adulation and homage sufficient to destroy, in most men, all sense of responsibility and of moral obligation, there is little wonder, that great gifts of mind and heart were made subordinate to the brilliant circumstances of his surroundings and to the magnitude of his power. Ambition

that knew no bounds—pride that acknowledged no superior,—and a love of dominion, that could brook no opposition, led him into courses of government that beggared and desolated his kingdom, and brought it to the verge of ruin. Thousands of his subjects became victims to his ambitious aims—and, to promote his grandeur and his pleasures, humanity was abased, and all principles of morality disregarded.

And yet, with all his faults, there were great and noble qualities that well became a king. He was naturally good, humane and just; with an elevation of character that placed truth and honor high, and scorned deceit. Magnanimity that could readily pardon, sincerity that disdained petty artifice, courtesy that was never absent, and a courage that became heroic in adversity, were also among his prominent characteristics; but his love of glory caused his reign to be disastrous to humanity, and his bigotry stultified his character, and made him, often, cruel and unrelenting. It was not until the close of his reign, when chastened by adversity—disappointed and bereaved—that what was really great and good in him shone out, with lustre, against the dark features of his earlier career.

If Louis had followed, from his youth, the precepts given by him to his grandson, the King of Spain, no monarch would have equalled him in the favorable verdict of posterity. The remarks of the keen-witted and eloquent St. Simon may be fitly added here: “Thus we see,” he remarks, “this monarch, grand, rich, conquering—the arbiter of Europe—feared and admired as long as the ministers and captains existed who really deserved the name. When they were no more, the machine kept moving, sometime, by impulsion, and from their influence. But, soon afterward, we saw, beneath the surface: faults and errors were multiplied, and decay came on, with giant strides; without, however, opening the eyes of that despotic master, so anxious to do everything and direct everything, himself; and who seemed to indemnify himself for disdain abroad, by increasing fear and trembling, at home. So much for the reign of this vain-glorious monarch!”

Voltaire's judgment is more eulogistic. "Although he has been reproached with small weaknesses, with severity in his treatment of Jansenism, with haughtiness in his treatment of foreigners, in the days of his success, with vitiated moral tastes, with too great severity in matters personal to himself, with wars lightly undertaken, with the devastation of the Palatinate, and the persecution of Protestants, nevertheless, his grand qualities and his actions, put in the balance, outweigh his faults. Time, which ripens the opinions of men, has put the seal on his reputation; and, in spite of all that has been written against him, his name will never be pronounced without respect, and without association with that period forever memorable."

The success and splendor of the earlier part of the reign of the great French King were much due to the ability of the men by whom he was surrounded. His choice of their successors showed weakness; and was prompted by a vanity that deemed his own powers sufficient for all the emergencies of the State, and believed that his fortunes could never decline.

Thence came disasters in the State, and in the field—civil disorder,—maladministration—official plunder, and oppressive taxation. All the great reforms and successes with which his reign began were reversed, at its close.

The thirst of Louis XIV. for dominion gave example and impulse for a system of attack and spoliation between the European States, that prevailed throughout the century—and caused the various leagues and alliances that were formed for international support and defence. Within his own territories the rule of Louis was almost despotic, and he loved to feel it so: to thwart his will or his desires might result in a life imprisonment; and libels against him were often punished by the scaffold. No intrusive writ of "*habeas corpus*" was there, to penetrate into the dungeons of the Bastile—and every fortress held its prisoner of State who was innocent and even ignorant of offence. The whim of the monarch, the revenge of a courtier, the greediness of an heir, the caprice of a favorite trifled with the liberty and life of the subject and helped to make firm a despotism

from which there was no appeal, and which made light of the rights of humanity and the authority of law.

Under this reign, the Royal prerogative was so extended and exercised that all other authority was practically annulled; and the exactions, the oppressions, the licentiousness, the wild excesses, the abuses tolerated and the rights outraged, under this and the following infamous reign, caused a reaction against the restraints of any government, which fell upon the head of the succeeding Bourbon—kindly and humane king that he was—and rested not, until the Bourbon dynasty—once loved—was swept from the land—never to return, except for a new dismissal.

The rays of Liberty, that had beamed in America, penetrating to France, and awakening her people to a knowledge of their political degradation, shone, in that country, lurid and terrible, through an atmosphere of crime and blood: they brought no bloom nor beneficent growth—but blasted and scorched. The people, eager for self-assertion, arose in the savagery of natures schooled amid the traditions of tyranny, fashioned amid vice, and irritated by the brutal oppression of irresponsible power.

The decrees of the Jacobin clubs usurped the prerogatives of the Crown—the Pike took the place of the Sceptre—law was administered by Assassins,—and the axe of the Guillotine fell not only on Feudalism—but on Liberty!

The license and fury of the *many* far transcended the excesses of the despotism of the *one*—but were its legitimate and terrible results.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Doctrine of the Balance of Power as specially recognized in the Treaty of Utrecht.—The Provisions therein as to the Doctrine of Free Ships making Free Goods.—The Provision for the Demolition of the Harbor of Dunkirk made a Precedent during the Civil War in the United States.—The recent War of the Spanish "Succession."

THE Treaties at Utrecht established the doctrine of the balance of Power between States as a principle of international law. In the text of the Treaty between Great Britain and Spain, one of its objects is stated, in terms, to be "for the establishment of a peace, for Christendom, by a just equilibrium of power." The written renunciations of the French princes to the Crown of Spain, recited in the Treaty, also expressly set forth this purpose.

The principle of the adjustment and retention of the balance of power still prevails in the settlement of European affairs, and is advanced in restriction of the action of the great States. There is, apparently, however, less apprehension than formerly of the results of undue aggrandizement; and there are consequently fewer alliances made for protection. Each State is more self-reliant and less disposed to be involved in issues foreign to it. Particularly is this the case since the people at large have become active factors in political affairs, and are not moved, as formerly, by the will of irresponsible rulers. An enlightened public opinion is now a strong conservator of the integrity of States, and a check upon executive powers.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE FLAG.

By the doctrines laid down in ancient maritime codes and enunciated in the works of International Jurists, it is made plain, that, up to the 17th century, an invariable rule prevailed, that the neutral flag did not cover or protect enemies' goods, in time of war. This rule was generally

recognized also among the nations of Europe, during the 17th century, as a prevailing one of international law. The converse of the principle was also, to a certain extent, recognized, in theory, at least; *i.e.*, that neutral property was free, even if on an enemy's vessel.

A treaty made between the Turkish Government and Henry IV. of France, in 1604, is one of the first modern examples of a compact establishing a contrary doctrine to the general one, that enemies' property was, under all circumstances, prize of war. Compacts of the same nature had been theretofore made by France with the Hanseatic towns; and the new principle was, also, subsequently recognized, by special provision, in several European treaties prior to those made at Utrecht, in 1713. In treaties made by Great Britain, respectively with Portugal, France, Spain and Holland, between the years 1642 and 1674, the new principle was recognized.

By the terms of the great Commercial treaty made between Great Britain and France, at Utrecht, in 1713, reviewed in a prior chapter, the freedom of the neutral flag is admitted, and a neutral ship is to free enemy's cargo with which it may be laden, with the exception of goods contraband of war. A similar compact was made between Holland and France, but limited to a period of twenty-five years, which was afterwards renewed in 1739, also for twenty-five years.

These provisions were required to be inserted in the Treaties of Utrecht by England and Holland in consequence of prior ordinances of Louis XIV., which he had established when at the height of his power, and which operated injuriously and vexatiously upon the commerce of the above two maritime States. These ordinances, issued in 1681, were to the effect that all the property found in enemies' ships should be confiscated; and that the productions of the enemy's soil or industry should be confiscated whoever was the owner; the neutral flag being of no protection.

The principle was also established by the Treaties of Utrecht that all goods, contraband or otherwise, carried

in an enemy's ship, were prize of war. The two rules, however, that neutral bottoms make neutral goods and enemies' bottoms enemies' goods, are not only separable in their nature, but are generally separated, and they have been held by the courts of the United States to be distinct.

The above principles were also asserted in the treaties made at Utrecht between England and Spain, in 1713; and between Holland, France and Spain in 1713 and 1714, with reference to the rights of the flag.

The treaties of Utrecht, therefore, recognized the double principle that free ships make free goods, and enemy's ships enemy's goods.

The ancient principle of the International law being changed by the compacts at Utrecht, and the new doctrine that free ships should make free goods being very generally adopted by the great nations of Europe, it became the basis of a new International Maritime system, and was extensively recognized, in subsequent treaties. But the rule, since the Treaties at Utrecht, has been a fluctuating one, depending much on the interests or policy of the States recognizing or rejecting it. The old rule, however, *i.e.*, that enemy's property may be taken in Neutral Vessels, seems to have been recognized still as the standard or normal one of the International Code, unless specially controlled or modified by Treaty; and this rule is one to which the policy of Great Britain for a long period, and indeed up to July, 1856, with certain exceptions, has generally given support and adherence.

In spite of the compact at Utrecht, also, in 1744, on declaring war against Great Britain, Louis XV. issued an ordinance directing confiscation of enemy's property, excepting that under Danish and Dutch flags, as also the production of the soil or industry of the enemy, whether found on board neutral or allied vessels. The same policy was pursued under Louis XVI., who issued similar ordinances. The United States of America first appear in relation to this matter when, by Treaty made with France in February, 1778, the neutral flag is declared to protect enemy's property and persons from capture; and all prop-

erty on an *enemy's* vessel after a declaration of war, is lawful prize, *i.e.*, the cargo is to follow the flag: but by the Treaty of 1794, made between Great Britain and the United States, there is no recognition of the principle of the freedom of the flag, but enemy's property might be taken if under the flag of either country. These and other provisions gave great offence to France, and were the cause of her making extensive spoliations upon the commercial vessels of the United States, by way of retaliation; and, under the Directory, France reversed her policy as to the freedom of the neutral flag. By virtue of the Treaty of 1794, with Great Britain, the Treaty of 1778 with France was deemed abrogated, and was so declared.

The principles of the Treaties of Utrecht were followed in the declaration by Russia and the other principal Northern Powers, forming the first "Armed neutrality," issued in February, 1780; whereby it is declared, with a view of protecting the "honor of the flag of said Powers, and preventing the molestation of their vessels by then belligerents," that property belonging to the subjects of the belligerent Powers should, with the exception of that contraband of war, be free from capture in neutral vessels; and that all neutral vessels should freely navigate from port to port and on the coasts of belligerent nations, except in case of a well-established blockade. Catherine II. gave out that she was prepared to resist by force any violation of the principles declared. The King of Denmark also declared the Baltic closed against any armed vessels of the belligerent powers.

To these principles the United Provinces, Germany, France and Spain gave assent, and subsequently Portugal and the Two Sicilies; the latter power having always remained faithful to the principles of the Treaty of Utrecht.

Against the principles of this declaration by the Northern Powers, Great Britain made a wily but not very strong protest,—she then being engaged in a desperate war with her American colonies—and answered, that she would be bound, only, by her respective treaties and general International rules. However, a Commercial Treaty was con-

cluded at Versailles, between France and Great Britain in September, 1786, for only twelve years; which admitted the freedom of the neutral flag, according to the principles of the Treaties at Utrecht.

In May, 1793, the Executive Government of France directed the seizure of Merchandise belonging to an enemy as good prize, and suppressed the freedom of the neutral flag. This was a policy specially directed at England, who retaliated by similar measures. Subsequent French decrees, as the stress of the French people became greater, under their civil disturbances and foreign wars, went farther and confiscated neutral or allied vessels loaded with enemy's property: and prohibited the introduction of all English Merchandise; and it was declared, in January, 1798, that the hostile or neutral quality of a vessel should be determined by her cargo; and that all vessels carrying property, the product of Great Britain or her colonies, should be condemned as prizes, irrespective of ownership.

The second armed neutrality in December, 1800, by the Northern Powers, as also Prussia, established the same principles as in their declaration of 1780; but the naval power of Great Britain broke up the confederacy, in this regard, and compelled a renunciation of the principle that the flag covered the goods; and Russia, subsequently, by her own action departed from the rule; but afterwards, in 1807, reaffirmed the principles of the armed neutrality.

By the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, between Great Britain, France and Spain, of October, 1802, there is no provision renewing or referring to the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht. This was done with a political design by England: and it was considered that the principle, as to the neutral flag protecting enemy's property from capture, was abandoned, and the old international rule revived—and, in fact, that the Treaty of Utrecht, as regards Great Britain, was to be deemed obsolete.

In November, 1806, the Berlin decree in opposition to an English decree of the same character was published by Napoleon, declaring the British Islands in a state of blockade; and all British goods whatever were declared lawful

prize, and all produce of England or her Colonies were to be confiscated. The British orders in Council of 1807, retaliated this policy, by prohibiting neutral vessels from trading with France or her allies, with certain exceptions, under penalty of condemnation, and declared all French ports in a state of blockade. In the Milan decree of December, 1807, Napoleon, again changing his policy, protested against the claim of England, which it termed "the infamous principle that the flag did not cover the goods;" and, in opposition to the English order in Council, asserted a right to denationalize all vessels of any nation that submitted to examination from any British vessel, or which paid any tribute or tax to the British Government, or which had touched at an English Port; and made such vessels subject of prize.

The principles of the Treaty of Utrecht, with respect to the rights of the neutral flag, as part of the law of nations, were thus adopted and forcibly carried out, by Napoleon, in order to circumscribe the naval superiority of England, and to protect vessels trading with France; and the Milan and Berlin decrees were declared to be extreme and exceptional measures induced by the Orders in council, against France.

In March, 1812, Napoleon proclaimed his new Maritime Code, in which it was declared, among other things, that the flag covered the cargo, and that goods of a neutral under an enemy's flag are prize. The declaration thus concludes: "France claims for all her people the above principles, as having been *consecrated by the Treaty of Utrecht*, and as having become, through their adoption, in subsequent treaties, the common law of nations."

Thus the two principles relative to the Flag were definitely declared as part of the Reformed Law of Nations, so far at least as France was concerned: and France has, almost uniformly, through her modern treaties, shown her preference for the doctrine of Free Ships making free goods; and this principle was laid down in the Convention between the United States and France of September, 1800, and July, 1801.

In England, however, unless there had been special modification by treaty, the former international rule, that enemy's goods are everywhere prize, has been generally recognized; and that country has long stood committed to the rule, and many jurists, there, still maintain its existence, as the normal international one. The Treaties made by England have been, often, in opposition, and often with reluctant assent to the principle of the freedom of the neutral flag: and, from 1786 to 1854, she made no Treaty limiting her belligerent rights. The doctrine of the freedom of the flag, it was supposed, would be of no special benefit to her and would deprive her of the advantages she would possess, as virtually Mistress of the Seas, with the power of destroying the commerce of her enemies.

When the terms of the Treaty of 1794, between Great Britain and the United States, were under consideration, a report of a Committee of the Privy Council indicated the grounds of the policy at that time adopted by the former Country, with relation to the "flag." That Committee made report, that no "Article" should be put in the Treaty, allowing ships of the United States to protect the property of the enemies of Great Britain, in time of war. "It would be more dangerous," the report states, "to concede this privilege to the ships of the United States, than to those of any other foreign country. From their situation the ships of these States would be able to cover the whole trade of France with her islands and colonies in America and the West Indies, whenever Great Britain should be engaged in a war with either of those Powers; and the Navy of Great Britain would, in such a case, be deprived of the means of distressing the enemy, by destroying his commerce."

As late as February, 1854, the British foreign office issued instructions that enemy's (Russian) property should be seized, even if laden on neutral vessels; but subsequently, by a special compact with France, enemy's goods in a neutral vessel were to be exempt; but, in making this concession, Great Britain asserted that such rule was only a temporary one, and *in exception of her original belligerent rights.*

THE DECLARATION OF PARIS OF 1856.

An important declaration was made at Paris, by the Plenipotentiaries of France, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Turkey and Russia, assembled in Congress, after the Crimean war, in April, 1856.

This assemblage rehearsing the uncertainty of the laws of maritime warfare and the advantages of securing an uniform doctrine, adopted the main principle of the Treaties of Utrecht, and laid down four great rules far in advance, in a humanitarian sense, of all that had preceded, and declared :—

“ 1st. That privateering should be abolished.

“ 2d. That the *neutral* flag should cover enemy's merchandise, except that contraband of war.

“ 3d. That neutral merchandise, *even under an enemy's flag*, should *not* be liable to capture, unless contraband of war.

“ 4th. That blockades, to be recognized, must be maintained by a sufficient force.”

About forty other of the States of Europe and South America, including the two Sicilies, Holland, Sweden, Saxony, Belgium and Denmark, gave adhesion to these principles. Spain, Mexico and the United States refused their assent to the declaration, *as an entirety*.

By a Protocol of the declarant powers, it was determined that the above four propositions should be maintained as *indivisible*; and the Plenipotentiaries further agreed, that the Powers which should have signed the Declaration, or which should accede to it, could not, thereafter, enter into any arrangement in regard to the application of the right of neutrals, in time of war, which did not, at the same time, rest on the four principles, which are the object of the said Declaration.

The United States refused assent to the Declaration as an entirety, unless the clause against privateering should be extended, so that private property should be exempt from capture *by even the public vessels of an enemy*; but signified

their desire to adopt the 2d, 3d and 4th of the propositions, if the first were amended according to their desires. Spain and Mexico made similar assent to all the propositions except to that relating to privateering.

The reasons alleged for such refusal, by the Government of the United States, were that the system of Privateering gave support and strength to the weaker maritime States, in time of war, and was of essential service to them—and, if abandoned, such States would be wholly at the mercy of the armed vessels of the great maritime Powers; and that such objection would be removed if an amendment were appended to the declaration to the effect that the private property of all persons should be exempt from seizure by *public armed vessels*—there being no good reason why such property should not be exempt, as well at sea as on land. In concluding his communication to the great powers uniting in the Declaration, the Secretary of State of the United States (Marcy) remarks, “I am directed to communicate the approval of the President to the 2d, 3d and 4th propositions, independently of the 1st, should the amendment be unacceptable. The amendment is commended by so many powerful considerations, and the principle which calls for it has so long had the emphatic sanction of all enlightened nations in military operations on land, that the President is reluctant to believe it will meet with any serious opposition.”

The proposed amendment however, was not acceded to; and the United States consequently remained outside of the provisions of the Treaty or declaration of Paris; but seem, at the time, and thereafter, in their diplomatic correspondence, to have recognized the propriety, at least, of the 2d, 3d and 4th propositions: and to claim them as established international rules.

As to the 3d, it was conceded by Mr. Dallas, then Minister of the United States to Great Britain, *to be the admitted rule, both in Great Britain and the United States*; and the 2d Article was also admitted to be correct in principle, and alleged to have been adopted by the United States in various treaties, and by an adhesion to the armed neutrality.

Lord John Russel, in a despatch of May, 1861, to Lord Lyons, British Minister at Washington, states, with regard to the views of England in the matter, that although the policy of Great Britain has been theretofore opposed to the principle of the freedom of the flag, and that she had contended for the opposite rule, she had, in 1856, "upon full consideration, determined to depart from that rule, and that she means to *adhere to the principle she then adopted.*"

In the course of an interview between Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington (June, 1861), and the Secretary of State (Seward), the latter stated "that he was ready to agree to all and more than all that was desired: that the United States had held and always held that the flag covered the cargo, and that the property of a friend was not liable to seizure under an enemy's flag." Mr. Seward, in a further interview (June, 1861), complained that the Governments of Europe *had taken no notice* of the offer he made to them long ago *to adhere, without reserve, to the Declaration of Paris.*

In the Spring of 1861, when the Civil war in America became an established fact, the British Government made application to both belligerents to declare whether they were to act upon the principles laid down in Articles 2d and 3d of the Declaration of Paris. In a despatch by Lord John Russel to Lord Cowley, at Paris, and to Lord Lyons, at Washington, the former declares "that the United States, as an entire Government, *have not acceded to the Declaration of 1856*; but, in practice, they have, in their conventions with other Powers, adopted Article II., although admitting, *that without some such Convention, the rule was not one of universal application*; and that, as regards Article III., in recent Treaties concluded by the United States with South American Republics, the principle adopted has been at variance with that laid down in the Declaration of Paris."

Lord Lyons was therefore directed to obtain from each Government *a formal recognition* of both principles, which were thenceforth to form part of the law of nations.

In accordance with the above application by Great Britain, in August, 1861, the Confederate Congress at Richmond, by Resolution, declared that they accepted the 2d, 3d and 4th propositions of the declaration, but *refused assent to the 1st, abolishing privateering*. These Resolutions were formally communicated to the English and French Governments and instructions were given to Privateers, accordingly.

Subsequently, with regard to the acceptance of the terms of the Declaration of Paris by the Federal Government of the United States, a series of communications and interviews occurred between the diplomatic representatives of the Governments of Great Britain, France and the United States, on the demand made by the former Powers, that the United States should positively declare *whether they gave in their adhesion to the declaration of Paris or not*. The draft of a Convention or agreement was subsequently formulated, to be entered into by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States, by which the assent of the latter *was to be given in full*, to all the propositions of the Declaration of 1856; and a similar convention was to be made with France. The matter had progressed favorably, and all parties had apparently agreed on the convention, when all proceedings were arrested, by reason of an exaction by Great Britain, that to the Convention should be appended a declaration in these words, "In affixing his signature to the Convention of this day, between her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States of America, the Earl Russel declares, by order of her Majesty, that her Majesty does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which shall have any bearing, direct or indirect, *on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States*."

To this proposition the American Minister at London (Adams), took great umbrage, and stated, in a communication to Lord Russel, that "if the parties to the Instrument are not to sign it, upon terms of perfect reciprocity, with all their duties and obligations under it perfectly equal, and without equivocation or reservation, on any side, then

it is plain that the proper season for such an engagement has not yet arrived. It were much wiser to put it off until nations can understand each other better." Mr. Adams was thereupon directed by his Government to break off negotiations, if the latter declaration was insisted on. Upon which, it seems, all further negotiations in the matter were interrupted, and they have never been renewed: and the United States still remains outside of the Declaration of Paris.

A prominent recent case, illustrating the immunity claimed for neutral vessels, is that of the seizure of the four diplomatic agents of the so-called "Confederate States of America," then in rebellion, and the taking of those persons from the British Mail Steamer "Trent," at sea, in November, 1861, by the United States ship of war "San Jacinto."

The plea of the United States, for the seizure, was that the above persons were armed with despatches and proceeding, in an official capacity, on public service; and were objects *quasi* belligerent, and as such contraband of war: and, therefore, proper subjects for search and arrest.

It was urged, on the other hand, by the British Government, that the taking of the agents from the "Trent" was an affront to the British flag, and a violation of International law: and redress was demanded.

Lord Russel took the ground that a neutral vessel had a right to carry despatches from one of the Belligerent States to the Government of a neutral State; and that such intercourse must be freely conducted; that the protection must be extended to diplomatic agents carrying such despatches; that such transport was no violation of the obligations of a neutral, and such persons or papers were not contraband of war, as claimed by the American Government. In his communication to the British Minister Secretary Seward sets forth, among other things, "that it had been settled, by *correspondence*, that the United States *recognized*, as applicable to the question, those two articles of the declaration of the Congress of Paris of 1856, viz.: 'that the neutral flag should cover enemy's goods not contraband of

war, and that neutral goods not contraband of war are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.'” Under then existing circumstances, however, the State Department afterwards receded from its position, as regards the right to seize, as contraband, the Confederate Agents; and they were returned to the British flag.

In various treaties made by the United States with the South American and Barbary States, the provision that free ships should make free goods is stipulated. The same provision is contained in Treaties with France in 1778 and 1800, before referred to; with Sweden, 1783, revived in 1827; with Prussia, 1785, 1799, and 1828; with Spain, 1795 and 1819; with Holland, 1783; and with Russia, in 1854; which last treaty contains also the provision that *neutral property*, even under an *enemy's flag*, should be free. The same provisions were included in a Treaty with the Two Sicilies, in July, 1855, now obsolete; but revived by the Treaty with Italy, in 1871; which latter also contains the important provision that private property on the high seas shall be exempt from capture *by the armed vessels of either power*. The Treaty of Ghent of 1814 made no provision for the renewal of the principles of the Treaty of 1794, with Great Britain. Between Great Britain and the United States there is now no provision on the subject, by any Treaty.

When War was begun between France and Prussia, in 1870, a Proclamation of Neutrality was issued, in August of that year, by the President of the United States, in which, among other things, it was declared, that communication had been received from the French Government that, in the prosecution of the war, that Government would strictly adhere to the Declaration of 1856; and that, “*Although the United States have not adhered to that Declaration*, the vessels of His Majesty will not seize enemy's property on board a vessel of the United States, provided that property is not contraband of war.” The Proclamation further recited, that Prussia had signified her intention that private property on the High Seas should be exempt from capture, without regard to reciprocity. Subsequently, however, in

February, 1871, the Prussian Government revoked its declaration exempting property on the high seas from seizure. This was done by reason of the treatment of German merchant ships, by France.

In a communication of June 12, 1877, of the United States' Secretary of State (Evarts), to the Russian Minister, as to the blockade by Turkey of ports in the Black Sea, the former asserts that, although it is true that the United States "did not sign *and has not since acceded to the declaration of Paris of 1856,*" they recognize the soundness of the rule, as to *Blockades*.

From a review of what precedes it will be observed that, since the Treaties of Utrecht, the general policy of the European nations, with the exception of England, has been in favor of the principle that free ships shall make free goods; and that England has, by uniting in the declaration of Paris of 1856, in reverse of her ancient policy, now stipulated with the other Powers, in support of that principle. And yet, in spite of almost universal accord to the contrary, the principle of the old rule still seems extant, and, in a measure is still recognized as existing, unless changed by actual compact. It is well, in this connection, to remember the closing words of the Declaration of Paris. "The present declaration is not and shall not be binding except between those powers who have acceded or shall accede to it."

To the principles of the Declaration of Paris, the United States have doubtless expressed their sense, both diplomatically and otherwise—but they have not given their formal political adhesion to those principles, as a matter of compact, or expressed their formal assent to them, as a matter of established International law: and it is claimed by some writers on jurisprudence in Great Britain, that the United States have no right to invoke the principles of the declaration of Paris against the former country; and that, in case of war, it would rest in the opinion of Great Britain either to adhere to the old rules of maritime warfare, or to maintain the principles of the declaration of Paris, so far as the United States were concerned. It is to be remarked,

also, that the abolition of the old rule by Great Britain, in the Declaration of Paris, has not by any means met with universal assent in that country; but that there is a disposition to advocate a return to the former doctrine. It is claimed, by many thinkers there, that the adoption of that Declaration, by Great Britain, in view of the great advantages arising from her dominant maritime power, would operate most injuriously for that country. Great discontent has been manifested in Parliament at the adoption of the Declaration,—leading statesmen and writers have denounced it, as impolitic—many petitions have been presented against it—and it is urged, that it was not a compact binding on Great Britain, but a mere manifestation of views.

It is considered, however, by its upholders, in Great Britain, as a compact or agreement with the other Powers, from which none can recede and which all are bound, by compact, to enforce. On the other hand, the Politico-economist, Stuart Mill, has warmly opposed it, and D'Israeli, in 1862, and subsequently in 1871, denounced it as most impolitic, and “as a dark page in the history of England.” There is, evidently, in Great Britain a strong current of opinion in favor of the repudiation of the doctrines of the Declaration; but the Government has not deemed it wise or proper thus far to recede from it; although all sorts of subterfuges have been suggested, from time to time, to evade the force of its provisions. It is probable, however, that no extension of its privileges will be allowed by any intendment, nor beyond the strict limit of its terms.

A recent English writer on the subject* claims, that an adherence to the first rule of the Declaration would paralyze the Navy of Great Britain, and urges its abandonment; claiming that neither France nor Spain had, in fact, accepted the doctrine. He urges that, in case of a war between Great Britain and France, the effect of an adherence to the “Declaration” would be, to prevent the capture of all merchandise; that is to say, French merchants would employ neutral vessels in their trade, as also would

* *The Fortnightly Review*, February, 1885.

the English ; and that any apprehension of war would bring the same results, as if a war were in progress ; and that all freight and shipping property would immediately depreciate. The writer strongly advocates a return to the old rule, that enemy's property should be captured whenever found ; inasmuch as, under the new rule, both the English and French carrying trade would be practically destroyed, and there would be no need of a navy.

The writer further claims, that the rule helps the merchant alone ; and that the merchant should take the risk of war, like others ; and that the English Navy could protect him ; and also, that, under the new rule, there would be no prizes or prize money, no inducement to sailors to man fleets, and, finally, that there would be no naval battles ; for the French navy would keep in its ports—having nothing to protect. In other words, it is claimed, that England's naval power would be useless, and that her merchant marine would rot in the docks.

In view of the above doubts on the subject, it might be deemed desirable for those countries which have not yet become parties to the declaration of Paris, to give in their formal adhesion to it, if they desire to avail themselves of the doctrines declared ; otherwise they may be considered to remain without the Declaration, and within the provisions of the old rule, that enemies' property can be seized anywhere, and their merchantmen may be subject to search, and detention, while the question of title is being determined, and subject to the seizure of hostile cargo. The practical effect would be that the merchant marine of the neutral countries not assenting to the declaration, would not be employed by the merchants of belligerents, to transport merchandise of such belligerents, and the great advantages that would otherwise ensue to such neutral vessels, by such a carrying trade, would be reaped by other neutral powers that had acceded to the Declaration.

It is obvious from what has been remarked above, as to the past and present feeling and attitude of Great Britain, at least, on the subject, that that country would deem it to her interest to hold that the United States were outside

of the principles adopted by herself and other powers; and she would probably claim that enemy's goods, in the bottoms of the merchant marine of the latter country, were fair prize of war.

As regards the recognition of the later rule, as one of the International Code, it is to be remarked, that, although the principles of maritime law laid down by the Treaty of Utrecht, and adopted, from time to time in successive treaties, by the different nations of Europe, have never been recognized, by convention, as the acknowledged international principles of all, but as the result of transitory operation, by treaty, and as such having no general application; yet that, on the other hand, the accessions to the new principles have been so numerous, and the opinions of the great Powers so strongly expressed, that the later rule seems to be one of International recognition and adoption, and the former rule practically obsolete.

There is, perhaps, however, enough left of the old rule to make an adhesion to it plausible if not justifiable, under modern advanced views; and, under the pressure of war, it is not unlikely that, in spite of diplomatic expression and example, it would be resorted to, where there has been no convention on the subject—especially in cases where might would make right, and there is power to assert the rule.

THE DEMOLITION OF DUNKIRK, AS A PRECEDENT.

One of the Provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht was cited as a precedent, on a memorable and critical occasion, when France was apparently becoming disposed to give her influence, if not her direct aid to the Southern Confederation, during the period of the great rebellion in the United States.

The Citation of the provision of the Treaty in question, so far as the statement in a recent book of *Memoirs** may be accepted as a history of the affair, seems to have had a conclusive effect in determining the action of the French government.

* *Memoirs of Thurlow Weed.*

In November, 1861, the main channel of Charleston harbor had been obstructed by the forces of the United States, through the sinking of sixteen vessels laden with stone, with the motive of assisting in the blockade of that port.

The governments both of Great Britain and France took umbrage at this act, as one of "barbarity, almost unparalleled in the history of the world," as claimed by the British Press. The claim was seriously made that, although a regular and efficient blockade, by ships of war, was a lawful exercise of belligerent power, the free navigation of rivers, and the free entrance of ports, were rights of an international character, in which every government of Europe was concerned; and that the common interests of the World were prejudiced by any act taking away the availability, or imperilling the safety of commercial harbors.

To this view, being apparently but one of a series of pretences for interference against the Federal government, then in no little distress, the French government gave strong support, and was preparing to protest formally against the above and similar acts in contemplation, as indicating an unprecedented policy, and as tending to forever close and destroy harbors necessary for the commerce of mankind.

The Emperor of France, it was ascertained, was prepared to denounce the above action of the Federal government, in his annual then forthcoming speech to the French legislature, and to call for some action in the premises. A special agent of the Union government,* however, at that time in France, with the purpose of preventing such denunciation from the Throne and any adverse action, called the attention of the Duke de Morny, then at the head of Foreign affairs, to the ninth clause in the Treaty of Utrecht, which had been deliberately and solemnly entered into by both England and France, and by which it was provided that the French King should not only *raze the fortifications of Dunkirk, but fill up the harbor and level the moles and sluices by which it was fed and cleansed*: and this,

* Thurlow Weed.

it was remarked, was to be done not during the existence of a war, but in *time of peace*.

This appeared so strong a precedent against the French and English expressed views in the matter, that the French minister retired from his position, and made no further remonstrance: and the Emperor made no allusion to the filling up of the harbor at Charleston, in his message; and, in the end, decided not to interfere. The Emperor's message contained merely these words, in the above relation:

"The Civil war which desolates the United States has greatly compromised our commercial interests. So long as the rights of neutrals are respected, however, we must confine ourselves to expressing wishes for an early termination of these dissensions."

THE RECENT WAR AS TO THE "SPANISH SUCCESSION."

A trite saying is that "History repeats itself." An example of this truism is presented in the recent war, relative to the succession to the Spanish throne, that took place between the two great contending powers of the former war—France and Germany (Austria excepted), and resulted in important changes in the map of Europe; and, also, in the unification of Germany and in the reconstruction of the German Empire. The conditions, in the recent instance, however, were somewhat reversed. Instead of a French Prince being introduced on the throne of Spain, at which Germany took umbrage, it was the case of a German Prince proposed for the Spanish throne; to which France made objection, and provoked a war as terrible as that arising out of the Succession of 1700: but which, thanks to improvements in the destruction of human life, was finished, and decisively finished, in seven months instead of, as in the former case, in ten years.

The events which served directly to bring about the new war of the Spanish succession, were as follows. The Revolution in Spain of September, 1868, by which Isabella II., representing the Bourbon dynasty, was driven from the throne of that country, left the succession open to the

candidature of various princes; and the proposition to place a German prince, the hereditary Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, on the Spanish throne awakened the attention of France, then ruled by a monarch desirous of military renown, as to the supposed attempt for preponderance by Prussia, among the European States.

The Prince of Hohenzollern, although descended from a common ancestor with the King of Prussia, was not of the Royal Protestant line, and was not even advocated by the Court of Prussia, as a candidate; but had been freely offered the Crown of Spain, by the then dominant authorities of that country.

The Duke de Grammont, the French Minister of foreign affairs, appeared, however, determined to bring about a war, under any and all circumstances: but the King of Prussia was not disposed to such a result, and wisely declined to make a *casus belli* of the question of the succession. The terrible consequences of the former contest for the throne of Spain had left souvenirs of wide-spread desolation, and the King, now advanced in years, was not ambitious for laurels that could only be acquired through a dynastic war which might again involve all Western Europe, and would be, under any circumstances, disastrous to humanity.

But it was not, altogether, the susceptibility on the part of France to a supposed attempt of Prussia to extend its influence that motived the action of the former country, or rather of its Ministry and ruler. An important political reason was supposed to underlie this. The internal affairs of France were far from being in a settled condition. There was a wide-spread opposition to the Napoleonic dynasty—the various political parties were in agitation,—and the disorganization of the social state was such, that not only was the government impotent to control internal political movements, but did not retain the confidence or respect of the people.

It was therefore considered by those in power, that a foreign war appealing to the warlike instincts and patriotism of the community would be an outlet for the ebullition of public discontent.

The Prince of Hohenzollern agreed, at first, to accept the proffered throne, on condition only, that a majority of the Cortes should determine in his favor. The plea was, however, put forward by the French Ministry, that although Prussia, as the facts showed, had not advocated the proposed succession, "that there was no obligation on France," in the words of its Minister, "of *suffering* that a foreign power should, by placing one of its own Princes on the throne of Charles V., disturb, to our detriment, the existing balance of power in Europe, and endanger the interests and honor of France." "We have a confident hope," openly said the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the French Chamber of Deputies, "that such an occurrence will not take place, reckoning as we do on the *prudence* of the Germans, and the amity of the Spanish people. Should this, however, turn out contrary to our expectations, Gentlemen, we shall, in reliance on your support and that of the Nation, know how to *do our duty without hesitation or weakness*."

These words, naturally, gave great offence at Berlin, and, amounting to a menace, caused the Germans to apprehend a possible war—but still they could not realize that it was imminent. Strongly opposed to such a conclusion of existing difficulties, all occasion for hostilities seemed to be removed, when the Prussian government declared to the French Ministry, that "the question of the succession to the Spanish throne was one which concerned Spain and the candidate alone; and with which Prussia and Germany had absolutely no concern." The King of Prussia declined, at the same time, with proper spirit, when requested by France so to do, to order the Prince of Hohenzollern to refuse to accept the Spanish throne, considering that under any circumstances, it was an uncalled for and insolent request. The young Prince, however, of his own accord, seeing the complications that had arisen, and not desiring to be a firebrand in European politics, as had been the Duke of Anjou before him, determined to abandon the candidature to the Spanish Crown, and so acquainted the Spanish authorities. The French Ministry, thereupon, with

a pertinacity and arrogance that seemed fatuous, required that the King of Prussia should apologize, in an autograph letter, for the alleged slight that had been put upon France by the King, "*in having permitted the Prince to accept the candidature, without having first come to an understanding with France.*"

The French Ministry also required the King of Prussia to give a positive assurance that he would never give his consent to this candidature, should it be brought forward again; and to *express his satisfaction* at the withdrawal of the Prince of Hohenzollern from all pretension to the Spanish Crown.

To these arrogant propositions, the warlike and high-spirited King of Prussia, of course, refused his assent; stating that he could not possibly undertake to enter into any guarantee for the future. The French government, thereupon, (July 19, 1870), made a declaration in these words: "The Imperial government could not but see, in this declaration of the King, a reservation full of danger to France and to the balance of power in Europe. In consequence, the French government feels itself obliged to take immediate steps, in defence of its *injured honor and interests*, and, being determined, to this end, to carry into effect all such measures as the situation may demand, considers itself, from this time, as in a state of War with Prussia." The German Confederation thereupon unhesitatingly accepted the alternative of war; seeing, as the King of Prussia declared, in his speech to the Diet, "that the rulers of France have succeeded in exciting the natural but much too susceptible self-esteem of this great neighboring people, for their own personal interests, and to gratify their own passions." "Let us follow the example of our fathers," the King concludes, "in defending our freedom and our just rights, against the violence of foreign conquerors; and God will be with us, as he was with them, in our struggle, which has no other object than to secure the peace of Europe, permanently."

The Emperor of France, on his side, in his response to the Deputies of the Chamber, who called upon him at the

Tuilleries, concluded his remarks with an expression of *his* confidence in the success of the French arms. "I know," he stated, "that France supports me; and that God protects France." The Heavens, in fact, however, did not protect France; and the French people ceased, in a short time, to support the Emperor. The Emperor of France, aping the career of his uncle, and having for his motive the humiliation and downfall of Prussia and the German State, as in the past, intrigued for alliances with nearly every other Power in Europe; fruitlessly claiming, as a plea for assistance from other States, that Prussia's ambition threatened to disturb the balance of Power in Europe, and menaced the security of every State. England, Sweden, Italy, Denmark, and Austria were approached for alliance with France, who now put forth the claim to be the champion of the liberties of Europe. But her blandishing diplomacy and her threats were of no effect: she met with humiliating rebuffs, even from Austria and the South German States, who were still smarting under defeats at the hands of Prussia; and all Europe formally declared itself neutral--the great duel went on to the bitter end; and France found out, too late, that she had indulged in delusions, not only as to her own military power, and the strength of her adversary, but as to her influence in Europe. The terrible features and startling results of the Franco-German war of 1870 are among the memorable records of recent European history. King William was crowned Emperor of Germany, at *Versailles*, on the 18th of January, 1871, and the first German Congress under the new Empire assembled at Berlin, in March ensuing.

To Spain, after it had gone through with the various experiences of insurrections, provisional governments, regencies, and a democratic federal Republic, the Bourbon line was finally restored in January, 1875, in the person of Alphonso XII., a son of Isabella II., who had been made Queen through an abolition of the Salic law by her father, Ferdinand VII., which law had been introduced into Spain by the Bourbons, and by virtue of which abolition, Don Carlos, a brother of Ferdinand, had been excluded from the throne.

In connection with the recent preponderance obtained by Prussia in Germany, the views of Talleyrand, drawn up with other memoranda as instructions for his guidance at the Congress of Vienna, may be here referred to. That great Congress, which was composed of the most notable collection of Princes and diplomatists that was ever gathered together, had, for its arduous task, the reorganization of the political system of Europe, after the extraordinary disturbance of its former conditions, through the ambition and prowess of Bonaparte.

The question of the aggrandizement of Prussia was one of the most important under discussion : and, by reason of the conduct of the King of Saxony, in being the most devoted as well as the most favored of the vassals of Bonaparte, during his European wars, it was proposed to transfer the Kingdom of Saxony to Prussia.

Talleyrand strongly opposed the proposed deprivation of the Royal family of Saxony of its hereditary dominions ; although Russia, and, at first, England and Austria, strongly advocated the step. Talleyrand urged that the equilibrium of Germany would be destroyed, if Saxony were sacrificed to the ambitious views of Prussia. His views on the subject were thus expressed, and seem almost prophetic :

“ In Italy it is Austria that must be prevented from predominating ; in Germany, it is Prussia. The Constitution of the Prussian monarchy makes ambition a kind of necessity. Every pretext is good in its sight ; no scruple arrests it. *Convenance* is the law. The Allies have, it is said, pledged themselves to replace Prussia in the same condition as she was before her fall—that is to say, with ten millions of subjects. If she be left alone, she will soon have twenty millions ; *and all Germany will be in subjection to her*. It is, then, necessary to curb her ambition, in the first place, by restricting, as much as possible, her *status* of possession in Germany, and in the second place, by restricting her influence, by federal organization.”

As a result of the deliberations certain cessions were made of Saxon territory.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE ARBITRAMENT OF ARMS.

HUMAN passions, whether directed so as to carry out Divine intentions, or allowed to range unchecked, are traced in history, as prominently leading to the events that have shaped the fortunes of Races and of Nations. They who perceive a manifestation of Divine foresight in every movement of human life, must necessarily recognize such direction over the minds of those who have been instrumental in producing such events.

Contemplating the great Panorama that Time unfolds, such thinkers perceive what others may not—the involved, although comprehensive and harmonious action of a superior design, through human forces, to bring about the great results that History records.

“God,” says St. Augustine, “is the principle of all rule, of all beauty, of all order, of all measure, of all weight, of all number. He who has not left—I will not say the Heavens and the Earth, angels and men—but the very entrails of the smallest and vilest animal, the feather of the bird, the most minute flower of the field, the leaf of the tree, without a proper agreement of parts, and the harmony which results from this agreement—can it be possible that He has wished to leave the kingdoms of men and their dominions and their servitudes outside of the laws of His providence?”

And yet, if man, under the terms of his existence, is but an instrument of a higher force, all criticism of historic personages is disarmed—all philosophic reflection on historic results is illusory:—the past can show no precedents—we can no longer prognosticate, from passions or motives, their probable consequences—the record of what humanity has thought, achieved or suffered is neither to its credit nor disparagement—and man can but deplore the condition

which retains him as a blind actor on the Theatre of Time, with a reason purposeless, and a will over which he has no control.

History, under such a view, instead of being an aid to philosophy, and teaching by example—pointing to the significance of the Present by contrast with the Past—is a mere dull record of fatalities.

Be this as it may, and the question can never be determined,—the annals of the Past show that it is to the Passions, and generally to the fiercer Passions, acting directly or indirectly, impelled from on high, or working at their will, that are to be mainly attributed the momentous events of History. "History," says Lingard, "is nothing but a picture of the miseries inflicted on the multitude, by the passions of a few."

The disturbance of political and governmental conditions in the times above reviewed, variously either produced, or were the immediate results of War—the outlet of human passion—which is called by Bentham "*Mischief upon its largest scale.*"

Some writers consider the attitude of hostility which man, in all ages, has maintained towards man, as an innate characteristic of the race.

The philosopher Hobbes claims that the state of man without society, is a state of war—because there is the right of all to all—and one invades, and the other resists. As a consequence, it follows that the beginning of society is based on apprehension of attack from those who have the desire to seize or to hurt.

When social systems have become compact, and individual natures are under restraint, other causes for attack appear—such as the desire of control, or ambition, and the desire of renown proceeding from vanity; and, as civilization progresses, the passion or feeling of pride involves causes of war appertaining to the succession of dynasties and the sensitiveness that champions national honor: there is also bigotry that sacrifices all to faith, and patriotism that bleeds for the native soil—the spirit of retaliation, and also the apprehension that would prevent such ag-

grandizement of another's power as would give a dangerous strength.

This law of destruction has been shaped by public sentiment, into moral aspects. These are, indeed, in most respects, conventional.

In one case, a killing is viewed as a wrong demanding a reparation by blood—in another, it is justifiable and receives commendation. So some wars, in the eyes of civilization, are deemed commendable and righteous; and many, even, as shown in sacred history, have been immediately directed by divine order—others are denounced as brutal, and stamped with guilt. When great crimes, however, are perpetrated by a Nation, the guilt is lost sight of, in the multitude of perpetrators; and conscientiousness is so diffused that there is no self-reproach. Many jurists have maintained the theory, that the same rules and principles of natural and moral law, which properly prevail among individuals, in their social relations, should prevail among nations, in their political capacities. While others treat International law as a distinct political science, and as one, which, in its nature and essence, is quite distinct from the laws governing individuals; and, involving no moral obligations, is dependent, not on principles that may be always applied but on conditions that vacillate and can never be regulated by precedent. “When a king makes a mistake,” said Louis XIV., “he must repair the fault as soon as possible, and everything must be sacrificed—even goodness.” He it was that wrote “*ultima ratio regum*” on his cannon.

It is evident that the principles of morality and a regard for humanity, in general, had little force in the guidance of the councils of the two great States most concerned in the contest that preceded the Peace of Utrecht.

With them, War was not an “*ultima ratio*” to secure a right, but a means to secure what Might could bring.

The leading motive, in fact, the basis of the great war of the Spanish Succession, was the desire of France and Austria, respectively, for preponderance;—a preponderance not necessary for the welfare of either; and which, so far as the masses of the people of those countries were concerned,

—always oppressed—was immaterial. The people of Spain, too, the debatable land, were fought over, as if they were chattels to be transferred to this or that potentate, regardless of their wishes or welfare.

The ambitious action of the two great States, in furtherance of their claims, drew all Western Europe into the struggle, and involved it in political complications, that nothing but a general exhaustion followed by a general pacification could remove.

And what was the Political result? In five years after France, with an expenditure of life and treasure that exhausted her, had placed her Bourbon monarch on the throne of Spain, she was compelled to invade that country with her troops, in order to repress him: and the Pacification of Utrecht, so far as it claimed to be a binding compact, was a political nullity.

In looking back, with a general aspect, over the period reviewed in the foregoing chapters, the impress made by a few active and daring minds upon the lives and fortunes of their fellow-beings and upon the political condition of States, suggests itself for contemplation,

Hardly more than a score of leading men and a few women were instrumental in moving about, like puppets, the masses of the people, the main sufferers in all the calamities of war and its consequences; and who, impotent in political life, were martyrs to the personal aims of the few, who, by fortune or by policy, had acquired control.

The political movements of the times were resolved in dark councils and concocted in secret cabinets, or were the results of pure despotic fantasy: and humanity bled and civilization was impeded, through the quarrels of courtiers, the intrigues of cabals, or the personal aims of those in power. These settled their differences, and achieved their aggrandizement through the sacrifice of those beneath them; who, left neglected, ignorant and despised, were kept in social degradation and political subjection. Such a thing as independent public opinion, if it ever dared to manifest itself, was insolently repressed; and murmuring and objections were silenced as treasonable.

National interests, it is true; were with some nations, apparently, at first, a motive for action; but, in time, these became subordinated to personal considerations; and never would have been involved unless through the action of some aggressive potentate or ministry, moving in disregard of a natural or a national right.

The part played by women in the history of the epoch that has been considered is remarkable.

In England, in France, and in Spain, respectively, the power of three women was felt in the council and in the field; and was instrumental in the furtherance of every important event. Not influenced by the gentle virtues of the sex—nor guided by the gentler passions, but impelled by the more masculine attributes of ambition and greed, these women, in their respective spheres, played parts in the events of those times that have made them memorable. The influence obtained by Madame de Maintenon over her capricious and despotic admirer is one of the remarkable facts in the chronicles of France. She was not only appealed to for advice, but her advice was always followed: she placed and displaced ministers and generals; and while, with great sagacity, appearing, humbly, to advise the monarch, she, in fact, ruled the State.

In England, supplanting the Duchess of Marlborough, whose influence had long been powerful in the government, Mrs. Masham, in her turn, wheedling the weak-minded Queen, became the pivot on which turned, at times, affairs of the State and sometimes of Europe. She outwitted and ejected the Marlboroughs who were persistent for the war, and promoted the employment of Harley and the Tories who advocated peace. In due time she had Harley removed; and, acting with the Jacobites and working still on the mind of the Queen, nearly diverted the established order of succession to the crown, in favor of the Pretender.

In Spain, a transplanted French woman exercised a supreme power, during the entire period of the war of the Succession. Anne Marie de la Tremoille, widow by a second marriage of a Prince d'Orsini, become Camarera mayor of the Queen of Spain, in 1701, exercised such influence

over that Princess and consequently over the King, that she governed both of them, and was, practically, the sovereign of that kingdom: and, seeking to make Spain independent of the control of France, persuaded Philip to throw off the guardianship of Louis XIV., in which he almost succeeded. Nothing was done without her interference, and Ministers, Ambassadors and Generals were dismissed at her pleasure.*

At the present day, the higher development of the individual condition of man and a broader assertion and recognition of his rights, have, by progress slow but substantial, somewhat restricted the arbitrary action of rulers, in promoting war.

The progress of philanthropic ideas has also, to a great extent, modified the features of war; and new principles mitigating its severity, have, among civilized nations, been gradually adopted. Formerly, and even in times not remote, massacre or slavery followed subjection or defeat in warfare—towns were recklessly bombarded—private property was confiscated, and non-combatants were ruthlessly slaughtered. Through modern civilization, the conflicts of States are conducted by their established armies, and the individual rights of non-belligerents are, theoretically, at least, respected.

There is now, too, a general feeling against the system of private war, or “privateering,” at sea, as well as on land—as being harsh in practice and barren in results.

* At the conclusion of the war, the Princess Orsini or des Ursins (as she is generally called), made claim to have accorded to her a principality in the Netherlands, as a reward for her services in Spain. Such a concession was actually made to her, in the Treaty of 1713, at Utrecht; but, in the subsequent treaty with the Emperor, her claim was rejected; and the Emperor refused to allow any of his States in the Netherlands to be taken for that purpose. The Princess, subsequently, fell in her own toils. On the decease of the Queen of Spain, in 1714, she sought to secure another wife for the King, who would be subservient to her will, and procured, as queen, Elizabeth Farnesse, a daughter of the Duke of Parma, who, however, immediately on her arrival, with the assistance of Alberoni, summarily kidnapped the intriguing Princess, and transported her out of Spain.

The softening influences of Christianity, as promulgated through its moral teaching, and the partial elimination of sectarian bitterness from theological controversy are supposed to have had influence to lessen both the evils of and the occasions for international strife. The *fiats* and Bulls of the Papal See no longer are causes for political disturbance, and no longer inflame peaceful States. The antagonism between Protestant and Roman Catholic States, as such, has long since disappeared; and principles of toleration and sentiments springing from human sympathy have shaped and illumined the Modern International Code.

Commerce, too, with its improved appliances, by strengthening and multiplying the personal interests which are in natural opposition to war, is supposed materially to have reduced the disposition to engage in it. Under the above humanizing influences, Congresses, Conferences, Mediations and other pacific agencies are now more often appealed to, to settle international differences, and to avoid the stern and irrational arbitrament of arms.

In spite, however, of the extension of Christianity, of the progress and distribution of knowledge and of the friendly influences of Commerce, with the increased facilities it affords for communication, negotiation and explanation, War, even in this highly civilized era, is entered into on grounds even less substantial than in the past two centuries, and is of no less frequent occurrence. Advancing Civilization has its moral, its humane and its intellectual triumphs; but, sadly enough, with its developed facilities for spreading destruction, and its multiplication of the means and appliances of slaughter, has, not only, done little towards checking the stoicism that disregards the sacredness of life, and that accepts war as the main solution for international differences, but has, in fact, extended the area of human suffering.

Nations now contend on apprehensions more remote and on policy more delicate than ever before; the people with a wider comprehension and acknowledgment of their natural rights are still the ready instruments to carry out the barbarous conclusions of a war policy:—the finger in the

Cabinet still, remorselessly, moves the unthinking masses to their doom—and the hapless soldier's sigh still "runs, in blood, down palace walls."

A desire to divert attention from the follies or oppression of the local government, the attempted occupation of some remote barbarian region, the offended dignity or the rash action of an official, an imagined threatening attitude or increased armament, a supposed insult to the "flag," or some other small ground of irritation to National pride, or to the *fetich* worshipped by Civilization as "National honor," may be the spark to inflame wise nations into conflict, and spread devastation among people who undergo the infliction as willingly, and blindly as they did in the time of Louis XIV.—and, indeed, often clamor, like wolves, for the feast of blood.

Large standing armies, unknown of yore, ready and eager for the march, keep hosts of men from the pursuits of industry—the advocates for international peace and concord are ridiculed as dreamers, the schooling and preparation for war absorbs the greatest part of the attention of modern governments, and, as is remarked by Froude, "the arts which have made the greatest progress are the arts of destruction." Machiavelli's instructions to his Prince seem still applicable. "A prince," wrote he, "is to have no other design, nor thought, nor study but war, and the arts and discipline of it."

Is Civilization, in truth, only a cloak to conceal the continuous barbarism of man, and does History tend, not only to verify the theory of the Philosopher of Malmsbury that War is the natural state of human beings, but to show that it is a necessary process of human society?

The history of Europe, at least, in the latter as well as in the former part of this nineteenth century shows that the desire for conquest, the thirst for dominion among nations, and the readiness to destroy life for those purposes have not abated: and that, to these and other passions, the principles of humanity so highly vaunted, are still subordinate.

And yet, how carefully, on the other hand, and under

other circumstances is this human life nursed and watched, and guarded, and treasured, in and by itself, and by others! What apprehensions for its safety—what grief when it trembles in the socket!—what despair and desolation when it goes out—even naturally, under the general doom!

There are schools and colleges set apart to instruct those who will be specially skilled to preserve it. There are learned physicists to devise theories and practices therefor.

There is an army of them, from Hippocrates and Galenus down. They study and ponder and reason together how to keep off the grim reaper—how to comfort, to heal, to soothe, to assuage. Chemistry, Botany, Microscopy, Astrology—the true and the false sciences—and the hand-maid arts are called in. The bowels of the earth, the dim recesses of the sea, the secret haunts of nature will be ransacked for remedies, for palliatives, for detergents, for *panaceas*.

Ingenious men will invent, and skilful men will make instruments of divers shape and device, to assist in the preservation.

There is a ceaseless fight with the remorseless forces of nature; with the insidious germ-cell, with the poisonous miasma, with the thunder-cloud, the whirlwind, the earthquake; with the powers of fire and air and water. There is war with the lower creation—a war to destroy them that may be hurtful; a war to seize those that may nourish.

Men and women will dig, and plough, and reap, and spin to sustain, to foster, pamper, and preserve this mysterious thing—so precious, so cherished, so fragile, and so fleeting! There will be also invocation,precation, and deprecation made to gods, and idols, and saints, and demons—each for its time; to Æsculapius and to Hygeia; to the sole God and to the multiform divinity; to Indra, to Isis, and to Elohim; to Vichnu, the preserver, and to Siva, the destroyer. There will be prayers offered, sacrifices made, wheels turned, and beads told, to spirits of good and spirits of evil—to Ormuzd, and to Ahriman—to the left eye-tooth of Buddha—to the blood of St. Januarius—to Diana of Ephesus—to our Lady of Lourdes, or Loretto—and even

to Abaddon, the devil;—all this, to ward off the blow and preserve the spark.

And yet, *per contra*,—and yet there are untold thousands studying art and science for the quenching of this same vital spark; how most quickly, effectually, and extensively, to make the great severance. Every new appliance for the defence of life is met by a new instrument for its destruction. The herdsman will leave his flock, the husbandman the field, the artisan his useful toil, to learn the art of slaying his fellows, with whom he hath no quarrel. Good and wise men will lead and teach them how best to slaughter,—men that are gentle of spirit, and, otherwise, mayhap, philanthropical. Books will be written, pious men will pray, geniuses will think and study and plot how best to do it. Opposing hosts of aggregate humanity will be massed, and reap each other down like grain. The grim Moloch of War is ever insatiate. And so the devilish game, from age to age, goes on.

It is a curious commentary on this advanced age that he who has the highest honor, the most conspicuous and elevated position, in any land, be it barbarian or civilized, is he who has been the most successful slayer of his fellow-men.

The great General far outranks the great humanitarian. The phosphorescent emanations from slaughtered humanity arise and make a halo about his head,—he glitters as a “hero” through the pages of history; he is asked to take the reins of State. He has honor, glory, power.

There are still among nations a wild national fanaticism and a social cynicism that blind them to the principles of justice and humanity: and good is called evil, and evil good, under the terrible instincts that make them rush into conflict with little regard to where lie the weights in the scale of justice.

Ambition, greed, jealousy, false pride, will often put on masks, and call themselves by the names of “national honor,” or “national interest” or “patriotism,” and clamor loudly under those names.

Swift, the satirical observer, painted this business, in his

time, and the satire is still applicable. "Sometime the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right; sometimes, one prince quarrels with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him; sometimes, a war is entered upon because the enemy is too strong; and sometime because he is weak; sometimes our neighbors want the things which we have, or have the things which we want—and we both fight till they have ours, or give us theirs.

"If a prince sends forces into a nation, where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honorable, and frequent practice, where one prince requires the assistance of another to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he has driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself; and kill, imprison or banish the prince he came to relieve. Alliance by blood or marriage is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is the greater the disposition to quarrel; poor nations are hungry and rich nations are proud; and pride and hunger will be ever at variance.

"For these reasons, the trade of a soldier is held the most honorable of all others, because a soldier is a Yahoo hired to kill, in cold blood, as many of his own species who have never offended him as he possibly can."

The French laughing philosopher, in his "Vision of Babouc," has well satirized the intelligence that characterizes licensed throat-cutting. "Babouc mounted his camel and set out with his attendants; after several days' journey, he met, near the plains of Senaar, the Persian army, which was going to battle against the Indian army. He first spoke to a soldier whom he met marching apart from the others, and inquired of him what was the occasion of the war. 'By all the gods,' responded the soldier, 'I know nothing about it. It is none of my business. My business is to kill and be killed, for a livelihood. I don't care whom

I serve. I might even to-morrow go over to the Indian camp; for, it is said, that they give nearly a half a copper a day to their soldiers more than we receive in this cursed Persian service. If you want to know what we are fighting about ask the Captain.' Babouc, having given a little *douceur* to the soldier, went into the camp; he soon made the acquaintance of the captain, and asked what was the object of the war. 'How do you suppose I know,' said the Captain, 'and what do I care about such a fine subject? I live two leagues from Persepolis; I hear that war is declared; I immediately leave my family, and I go to seek, according to our custom, fortune or death; particularly as I have nothing else to do.' 'But your comrades,' said Babouc, 'are they not better informed than you?' 'No,' said the Captain, 'nobody but our principal Satraps know precisely why we are cutting each other's throats.'

"Babouc being introduced to the staff, became at home with them: and one of them informed him as follows: 'The cause of this war,' said he, 'which has desolated India for twenty years, arises from a dispute between a eunuch of the grand King of Persia's women and a clerk in the Cabinet of the grand King of the Indies. The question was about a duty which amounted to about the thirtieth part of a *daric*. Our prime minister and the prime minister of the Indies sustained the dignity of their respective masters. The generals got warm on either side—an army of a million of soldiers was put in the field, and these armies have both annually recruited to the extent of four hundred thousand men. Murders, incendiarism, ruin and devastation daily increase. The whole universe suffers, and the slaughter goes on. Our prime minister and he of the Indies both often protest that they are only acting for the benefit of the human race; and, at each protestation, there are always cities destroyed and provinces laid waste.' "

"Deliver me, O Lord! from they that imagine mischief in their heart; continually are they gathered together for war!"

Thus prayed good King David, and yet he received celestial assistance in his continual fights and throat-cuttings

with the Canaanites, the Amalekites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hittites, and the Girgashites; and this exemplary potentate, on one of his excursions, "saved neither man nor woman alive." On another, he put all the people of the conquered cities of the Amorites "under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick kiln." This, indeed, is puzzling!

Are we indeed as ants, and do the heavenly powers encourage licensed throat-cutting?

There seems, actually, no remedy for all this thing—no substitute. High civilization, doubtless, requires it all, in a political, if not in an anthropological sense. One man wields the sword, the other the lancet. The people are taxed that the rulers may maintain a host of licensed homicides. Democritus laughs over it,—so does Mephistophiles!

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I., p. 1.

THE following is the definition of the "*Balance of Power*," in Europe, given in one of the instructions to Talleyrand (and probably drawn up by him), for his conduct at the Congress of Vienna.*

"It is a combination of the mutual rights and interests of the Powers, by means of which, Europe aims at securing the following objects:

"1st. That no single Power, nor any union of Powers, shall have the mastery in Europe.

"2d. That no single Power, nor union of Powers, shall be at liberty to infringe the actual possession and recognized rights of any other Power.

"3d. That it shall no longer be necessary, in order to maintain the established state of affairs, to live in a state of imminent or actual war, and that the proposed combination shall secure the peace and repose of Europe against the efforts of a disturber, by diminishing his chances of success."

* Correspondence of Prince Talleyrand and Louis XVIII., with notes by M. G. Pallain.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V., p. 49.

Extract from the memoirs of Daniel de Cosnac, Archbishop of Aix, and, at one time, one of the Council of the King; who, in his memoirs, states, that it was a source of glory to him that, even before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he had destroyed all the Protestant places of worship in his diocese.

“I retired to my diocese, and hardly had I arrived there, when dragóons were sent in all the places where there were any Huguenots. I relaxed no efforts in trying to make conversions, either by my teaching, or by the effect of favors, or of money. My care was not without reward,—scarcely ever failing to succeed. I admit that the fear of the dragóons and of their being quartered in the houses of the heretics might have done more than my exertions. This lasted over two years; and that which particularly advanced conversions was an Assembly of Huguenots, which took place in the territories of my Bishopric; and where 4000 men were assembled to defend themselves and their Heresy. Monsieur de St. Ruth,* who commanded the troops, having attacked and routed them, burned more than two hundred, who had taken refuge in a barn. A great number of prisoners were taken, and the rest dispersed—not daring to reappear. Those who were taken were condemned to die by the hands of the Executioner. All the prisons in my diocese were full of these wretched people, and the Intendant executed several of them, when their trials were finished. It was a terrible spectacle!”

In another place the Archbishop writes of the fate of a Huguenot Minister, who, with another, had been put under arrest: and thus records this story of blood:

* Subsequently killed by the English Protestant troops, at the battle of Aughrim.

“These two ministers were in prison in the City of Tournon, in my diocese; and I learned that they had been tried, and that the Minister *Homel*, who was highly esteemed by his party, had been condemned to be broken alive on the wheel, and his body exposed in four places of the District, where he had lived as minister over 30 years—his companion was adjudged to be hung.

“I felt constrained to go to Tournon, to try and rescue these men out of their miserable condition, if possible—both their bodies and souls. On arriving at the locality in the city, where the gallows was erected, I saw the executioner holding captive the second minister, who was clad in his shirt, with a rope about his neck, by which the executioner was leading him. I cried out with all my strength, ‘Stop the execution!’ and, arriving on the spot, I advanced and took the minister out of the hands of the executioner, and, having taken him into a neighboring house, I exhorted him to consider how Divine Providence had sent me to his aid, and to save his soul. The man resisted for some time, and seemed firm in the midst of such great danger; but, in less than an hour, he promised to abjure his heresy, and, in fact, the next day, he made the renunciation, apparently in good faith, acknowledging that he was satisfied with the reasons that I advanced in response to his enquiries.

“After having finished this I spoke with him as to the Minister *Homel*; and asked in what condition I would find him; and whether he would not feel like acting as the other had. He took all hope of this from me, by stating, that *Homel* was prepared for any suffering; and would not listen to anything I could say towards his conversion. * * * * However, as I was in the place where the man was confined, I entered into a dungeon where I found him imprisoned; and having caused him to be seated near me, I commenced, by calling his attention to the unfortunate condition in which he was placed. He replied, with firmness, that he was aware of it, and was even, thanks to God, contented with it; and quoted several passages of Scripture. After having let him speak for some time, we en-

tered into the reasons by which he was persuaded that he was in the true path. There was no fundamental point of the controversy left undiscussed. He defended himself as well as he could, but the point on which it was impossible to convince him was, the invocation to the Saints. On greater difficulties he seemed more reasonable; and I did not despair of conquering his spirit—but, on the above point, he was firm; stating that he never would have recourse to any one for prayer, except his Redeemer.

“I was more than four hours in this conference with him. I did not speak of removing him from the prison where he was placed, and gave him no particular hope of his life. I suppose that he appeared so conciliatory as to the matters of which I had spoken to him, with some idea of saving his life; which, probably, would have been the best way to convert him from his wicked religion. He told me, however, that if he had time to reflect on what I had told him, he thought God would direct him what he had better do—but now he was under sentence of immediate death. I told him that, to save his soul, there was sufficient time; and that he ought to profit by God’s mercy. He recognized, by this remark, that there was no hope for him; and I declared to him that I had still authority to open the Heavens for him—but not to let him live on the earth—so that, finding no way of saving him, I left him to his fate. *He was broken on the wheel alive*, the next day;* and what is extraordinary, and of which I was informed by those who were present at the sad sight is, that, during his torments, he never ceased from invoking Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and other Patriarchs of the Old Testament, which surprised me, as he had expressed himself so strongly against the invocation of Saints.”

* 20th October, 1683.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII., p. 76.

MEMORANDA FROM THE DESPATCHES OF THE MARQUIS D'HARCOURT TO LOUIS XIV.

Sept. 26, 1698.—In this despatch, the Marquis speaks of the advantages of the first proposed Partition Treaty, as tending to prevent a general war, inasmuch as the House of Bavaria will have the Spanish Dominions, and France will have Naples and Sicily—but apprehends trouble from the Emperor and the Spaniards, and that the grandees of Spain will be disappointed in losing these Vice-Royalties; and the people at large will not think the weak house of Bavaria will be of great assistance in support of the Spanish Kingdom. In a Despatch of 19th Nov., 1698, he speaks of the Envoy of Bavaria having bestowed large quantities of pistoles on the Countess Berlips and others, and of the disposition by the will of Charles in favor of the Electoral Prince; and of the assembling of the Council where the fact was declared to it. That Count Harach was indignant at the news, and demanded an audience of the Queen, who informed him that she knew nothing about the matter.

In a Despatch of 2d Dec., 1698, d'Harcourt says “there is nothing to prevent the tearing up of the will, as also any will made in favor of the Archduke.”

Under date of 18th Feb., 1699, the Marquis states that the King of Spain has sense enough to know good from bad; but that he is so weak and irresolute that he has no will of his own—and that he is easily influenced by those he stands in fear of, especially by the Queen, who can make the King do whatever she wishes.—That the Queen is avaricious of money and sells all the places, and is absolutely controlled by Countess Berlips, who is even more avaricious than her Mistress. That the Admiral has great

influence over the Queen, and is a keen politician, and very ambitious and insincere, and desires to marry the Queen and become King himself.—That those three persons govern Spain. The Marquis also states that they do what they please with the King and the laws. That the Count of Oropesa is also devoted to the Queen, of whom he is afraid; and that the Admiral makes a tool of him. That no one else makes any efforts to influence the King towards good government, because the above persons have complete control of him. That most of the grandees are ignorant and lethargic—and the people he meets are singularly indolent; and all mistrust each other.

He speaks also of the discontent of the people at large, of the bad government they are under, and at the tottering state of the Kingdom, and of the people's desire that it should not be dismembered; and that every one sees, that the only way to prevent that would be to have a grandson of Louis XIV. on the throne of Spain; who would with the aid of France be able to protect and sustain the Kingdom.—That this is now the popular feeling and is being openly expressed. He then speaks of the project for the second Treaty of Partition. He also speaks of overtures made by the Queen for some negotiation with him, but doubts her sincerity; and states that the Emperor is now endeavoring to arrange matters with her—although she had somewhat irritated that monarch; that her disposition would naturally be for the Imperial House, and that he recommends the King of France to make an arrangement with the Queen, so that the Cortes can be assembled, and that one of Louis' grandsons be designated as Prince of Asturias, and receive the oaths—and then that such disposition be made, that on the decease of Charles II. the matter may be accomplished. The Marquis further states that it will be necessary to act speedily, to prevent action by Austria, and a reconciliation of the Queen with the Emperor. On 8th July, 1699, the Marquis writes of a project to remove the King of Spain from the throne, set on foot by the People; and that a memorial had been signed to that effect.—On 25th March, 1700, the Marquis writes, that he has heard that the King

of England had signed the second Treaty of Partition; and thinks that the Treaty will secure more advantages to the King of France than anything that could be gained from the disposition of the Spaniards.

On the 8th and 15th April, 1700, he writes, that he would not be surprised, from what he hears, as going on between the King, the Queen, and Ubilla, if the Archduke were sent for, and thinks some important movement is on the *tapis* as the troops are marching about, but all is done in a mysterious way.

On 12th May, 1700, he writes of conferences between the King, the Queen and the Duc de Molés, the Spanish Ambassador to Vienna, and considers that all this is favorable to the Archduke; but all this, he states, is very displeasing to both nobles and people, but the timidity is so great, that nobody complains.

In a second set of despatches, d'Harcourt thus communicates to the French King. From Bordeaux, 30th Oct., 1700, he writes that De Blacourt has despatched a courier notifying the King that the King of Spain had made a codicil confirming a will of 3d Oct., in favor of the grandson of the King of France.

He balances the advantages of adhering to the Treaty of Partition, or to the will; and intimates that in either case there will be a war, but that if the Will is adopted the first movement would be a violent one, but would soon subside.

From Bayonne, 7th Nov., 1700: He urges that the Will be adopted, and says that the expenses of war under the Treaty would be greater than by adoption of Charles' Will. From Madrid, 20th Dec., 1700, he speaks of the enthusiasm in Madrid for Louis, and says that it will be difficult to reform the government, and that everybody is anxious for reform except in his own case.

On 22d Dec., 1700, he speaks of depriving the English and Dutch of the Spanish and East Indian trades.

On 27th Dec., 1700, he speaks of the good intentions of the Cardinal Portocarrero, and advises Louis to send word to the ministry in Spain, to sign whatever he may direct them to do.

From St. Jean de Luz, 17th Jan., 1701, he advises the removal of the Dutch troops from the Netherlands.

"If that Republic," he states, "would follow its true interests and were really free, it would put itself under the protection of your Majesty; but its principal men, having been for a long time gained by the King of England, private persons have to sacrifice their interests to the passion for that Prince. I think the delay of the Dutch to recognize the King of Spain, and to answer to the request for the evacuation, and the insinuation of the Ambassador of Sweden, are only pretexts to prepare themselves, and to gain time; and if you are to have war, it were better to have it now than to-morrow. I even dare to say to your Majesty that the war in this conjuncture will be a short one, and will be more advantageous than peace—since it will give you opportunity to make any peace you choose."

On 18th March, 1701, he states: "I have remarked with pleasure, in the last letter of M. de Tallard, the impossibility in which the English are placed to sustain any war they may undertake for over two years."

On 7th April, 1701, he writes: "The King of Spain shows a perfect desire to obey your orders in everything. He conducts himself in a way that might be hoped for in a young Prince. He is a little more confident, and bolder than formerly. He speaks Spanish with everybody. He is willing to receive advice with docility and good sense. He is becoming more intelligent, daily, and your Majesty ought to be pleased with the fact that he has a sense of true glory, and acts to meet approval. He only requires to be a little more animated."

"He shows himself frequently, and after his hour devoted to the despatches, he makes the tour of his apartments, where all persons can see and speak to him, or present petitions; and as he does this every day, he gives no audiences. On Fridays, only, as did his predecessor, there is always some persons to dinner, and even citizens; although that is contrary to Spanish etiquette. He often passes through the city, on horseback, and whenever that happens he is escorted to his palace by a crowd of people, as on the day of his arrival."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXII., p. 219.

St. John, in a violent diatribe, in the early papers of the *Examiner*, attacked the Whigs on every point. "In Spain, in Savoy, on the Rhine," he writes, "enough and but just enough has been done to serve as a pretence for estimates and demands for supplies; but nothing decisive,—nothing which had the appearance of earnest has been so much as attempted, except that wise expedition to Thoulon, which we suffered to be defeated before it began. The whole stress of the war has been wantonly laid where France is best able to keep us at bay; as if we fought only to make ostentation of our valor and riches. * * * From whence it appears probable enough, that if the war continues much longer on the present foot, instead of regaining Spain, we shall find the Duke of Anjou in a condition to pay the debt of gratitude and support to the grandfather, in his declining years, by whose arms, in the days of his infancy, he was upheld.—The Dutch will have a larger and better country than their own, at the expense of Britain—conquered for them by those ministers, who thought it once impolitic for them to consent that even Ostend should be made a part of their barrier. Britain may expect to remain exhausted of men and money, to see her trade divided among her neighbors, her revenues anticipated, even to future generations, and to have lost this only glory left her, that she has proved a farm to the bank, a province to Holland, and a jest to the whole world!"—SOMERS' "Tracts," vol. xiii.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXX., p. 320.

Marshal Berwick, half brother to the Pretender, commenting on Oxford's conduct at this time, states, in his memoirs, that the Jacobites could never get anything decided out of Oxford. "This lethargy," he writes, "could not proceed from his want of understanding or courage; for no man had more of them than he: it was, therefore, morally certain that his only motive, in all the advances he had hitherto made to us, had been his own interest in endeavoring to join the Jacobites with the Tories, and by that means, securing to himself a majority in Parliament, that the Peace might be approved of. As soon as he had compassed this end, he thought of nothing except upon being on good terms with the House of Hanover, and as to the Pretender, he amused him from time to time, with some new proposal of changing his religion, or at least pretending to do so. The Court of France, as well as we, were then persuaded that Oxford was imposing upon us; but as they had concluded their principal business, by his means, they were easily comforted."

The Duke de Berwick, being actively engaged in the Jacobite plots, and quite behind the scenes, also states as follows in his memoirs, in speaking of the necessity of arranging the peace, before the Jacobite plans could be carried out. "Though it appeared to me that one of these points was no hindrance to the other, yet, in order to show that we would omit nothing, and to give proofs of our sincerity, we wrote to all the Jacobites to join in with the Court. This contributed greatly to make the Queen's party so superior in the House of Commons, that everything was carried there, according to her wishes."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXI., p. 328.

On 9th of April, 1714, the House of Lords presented the following address to the Queen, as to the Pretender :

“We, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, having a just and tender concern for your Majesty, and our country, and being encouraged by that zeal your Majesty has so often expressed from the throne, for the Protestant succession, in the illustrious House of Hanover, do now presume to renew our most humble application to your Majesty, upon a subject *so agreeable to you as this*, which is nearest your own royal heart ; and do humbly beseech your Majesty that, whenever your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall judge it necessary, you will be graciously pleased to issue your Royal proclamation, promising a reward to any person who shall apprehend and bring the Pretender to justice, in case he shall land, or attempt to land, either in Great Britain or Ireland, suitable to the importance of the service, for the safety of your Majesty’s person, and the security of the Protestant succession, in the House of Hanover.

“We do also desire leave to express our very great concern that your Majesty’s instances for removing the Pretender out of Lorraine have not yet had their effect; and do humbly entreat your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to insist upon and renew your instances, for the speedy removing of the Pretender out of Lorraine, and likewise that your Majesty will be graciously pleased, in conjunction with the States General, to desire the Emperor to enter into the guarantee of the Protestant Succession, in the House of Hanover ; and also all such other princes as your Majesty shall think proper.”

The curt answer of the Queen much raised the hopes of the adherents of the Pretender; and is indicative of the true feeling of the Queen and of her Ministers in the matter:

“MY LORDS: It would be a real strengthening of the succession in the House of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so industriously promoted.

“I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I shall judge it necessary, I will give my orders for having one issued. As to the other particulars of the address, I will give proper directions therein.”

The Pretender, continuing to reside at Lorraine, and his partisans being discovered enlisting men in Ireland, the two Houses of Parliament, in June, 1714, became so anxious about his movements that they requested the Queen to issue a proclamation for his apprehension, which, under the stress of public opinion, was accordingly done, with a reward of £5000 offered.

To an address from the House on the subject, the Queen also returned an abrupt answer:

“GENTLEMEN: The hearty concern you show in this address for the security of the Protestant succession is very agreeable to me. I hope your concurrence will have the desired effect in removing jealousies and quieting the minds of my good subjects.”

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXI., p. 333.

THE PRINCE OF CELLAMARE'S OPINION OF BOLINGBROKE.

Extract from the Prince's memoirs, in MS. in the Astor Library, N. Y. : " During the time that the minor king remained in the castle of Vincennes, I still continued in Paris, in obedience to the orders I had received in the lifetime of Louis XIV., to furnish with impenetrable secrecy the succors before mentioned to the principal ministers of the Pretender, and to see him in private: one of these was the Duke of Berwick, of whom I have sufficiently spoken—the other was Lord Bolingbroke—a nobleman very well known, from the great share he had in the pacific Treaty of Utrecht, as also on account of the supreme authority he exercised in England, during the life of Queen Anne. * * * I had frequent occasions to confer with him : and it appeared to me that he was an improper person to be intrusted with affairs of great moment. The liveliness of his wit, the quickness of his resolutions, and his uncommon sagacity in matters of the greatest difficulty, were qualifications which lost their value by being contrasted with the vices of a man to the highest degree negligent ; who preferred his pleasures and his dissoluteness to matters of the greatest consequence, and who passed many hours of the day and all those of the night in drinking and debauchery—always spoke without reserve, revealed to the companions of his licentiousness the most hidden secrets of government ; and who, lastly, despising religion and faith, acknowledged no other god than his pleasure."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXI., p. 334.

Extract from the Earl of Oxford's speech, in the House of Lords, on the motion that he be put in immediate custody.*

"MY LORDS: It is a very great misfortune, for any man, to fall under the displeasure of so great and so powerful a body as the Commons of Great Britain. And this misfortune is the heavier upon me, because I had the honor to be placed at the head of the late Ministry, and must now, it seems, be made accountable for all the measures that were then pursued. * * * My Lords, I could say a great deal to clear myself of the charge which is brought against me: but, as I now labor under an indisposition of body, besides the fatigue of this long sitting, I shall contract what I have to say within a very narrow compass. This whole accusation may, it seems, be reduced to the negotiation and conclusion of the peace. That the nation wanted a peace, nobody will deny: and I hope that it will be easily made out, that the conditions of this peace are as good as could be expected, considering the circumstances wherein it was made, and the backwardness and reluctancy which some of the allies showed to come into the Queen's measures. This is certain—that this peace, as bad as it is now represented, was approved by two successive Parliaments. It is indeed suggested against this peace that it was a separate one. But I hope, my Lords, that it will be made appear that it was general: and that it was France and not Great Britain that made the first steps towards a negotiation. And, my Lords, I will be bold to say, that, during my whole administration, the Sovereign upon the Throne was loved at home and feared abroad. As to the business of

* Hansard's Debates in Parliament.

Tournay, which is made a capital charge, I can safely aver, that I had no manner of share in it; and that the same was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who thought fit to step aside. But I dare say, in his behalf, that if this charge could be proved, it would not amount to treason. For my own part, as I always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late Queen, and never offended against any known law, I am justified in my conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man. But I cannot, without the highest ingratitude, be unconcerned about the best of Queens—a Queen who heaped upon me honors and preferments, though I never asked for them; and therefore, I think myself under an obligation to vindicate her memory, and the measures she pursued, to my dying breath. My Lords, if Ministers of State, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may one day or other be the case of all the members of this August Assembly. I don't doubt, therefore, that, out of regard to yourselves, your Lordships will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope that in the prosecution of this enquiry, it will appear that I have merited, not only the indulgence but also the favor of the government.

“My Lords, I am now to take my leave of your Lordships and of this honorable House—perhaps—forever! I shall lay down my life, with pleasure, in a cause favored by my dear late Royal mistress. And, when I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honor and virtue of my Peers, I shall acquiesce and retire with great content.”

By permission of the Peers, Oxford was allowed to go to his own house—but, by vote of 82 against 50 he was ordered into close custody. On retiring to his house he had the consolation, if any, of the sympathy of the mob, which shouted, “High Church, Ormond and Oxford forever!”

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXI., p. 340.

Extract from the memoirs of Prince Cellamare, ambassador of Spain, at Paris, translated in MS. from the Italian MS., in the "Paper Office," London :

"I had, moreover, several times, exposed, in vain, to the Duke of Orleans, the strong reasons which prevented me from approving, in any measure, those projects of peace his Royal Highness meant to promote, since they could not but be considered, by every one who would examine them carefully, as being equally contrary to natural and civil right—to divine and human laws. But absolutely bent upon pursuing his designs, I began, against my will, and driven by indispensable necessity, to listen to the proposals of some French noblemen of high rank, who wished to moderate or destroy the authority of the Regent. I was well aware that the project of these men was violent and hazardous ; but I considered, on the other hand, that, where necessity compels, there boldness ought to be considered as prudence. I, moreover, apprehended that, if I rejected their proposals, they would convey them to the knowledge of the King, my master, through some other channel, and that my too great caution might, afterwards, be disapproved by his Majesty. At the same time, my mind was disturbed with various reflections. I was aware that the pernicious negotiations and preparations of the Duke of Orleans were advancing very fast, nor did I doubt that it was proper to prevent his designs ; but I did not expect that these negotiations could be subverted by the French alone ; who, bred up in ease and pleasure, would not care to oppose the authority of the Regent, and would submit to the hardest yoke of slavery rather than expose their estates, their houses, and their delightful gardens to dangerous hazards, and rather than absent themselves from

their ladies or lose one single supper. I also knew that the Duke of Orleans had offended the Commonalty of France, by destroying their trade, by altering the value of their coin and by increasing the taxes. * * * Nevertheless, I judged that, without engaging the natives of a country in a contest, petitions might be presented to his Most Christian Majesty,* for the convocation of the States; and this simple demand, supported by the advice of the Catholic King, would be sufficient to divert the Duke of Orleans from his enterprises: and, consequently, I imagined that it was advantageous to the interests of his Catholic Majesty to listen to his zealous partisans. I therefore had various conferences with them, observing every possible caution to keep these practices concealed. I then sent a messenger to Madrid, to give his Catholic Majesty a full account of these manœuvres, and, at the end of a few days, received orders, in answer, to continue these intrigues. I then endeavored to encourage the good-will of the above named persons: and they assured me that a great number of very respectable persons were favorably inclined to the *Cause*. Nevertheless, before I took any other steps, I considered maturely, within myself, whether it were suitable to my pacific Ministry, to proceed in the conduct of such a business. I knew very well that it was not becoming to an Ambassador to raise seditions, and, making an improper use of his Ministry, to excite the people against the Prince with whom he resided. But, on the other hand, I considered that, in the present business, no other matter was in question, than to have recourse to the King himself, that he should order his magistrates to take into consideration the requests of the most faithful subjects of the Crown; and that the Catholic King—a Prince nearly related by the ties of blood to his most Christian Majesty—should strengthen their Petitions with his approbation: and, therefore, laying aside all scruple, I persevered in the business I had undertaken. It was also evident to me that the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, which it was meant to overthrow, not being established upon the ancient and

* The youthful Louis XV.

fundamental laws of the Kingdom, nor strengthened by a long and uninterrupted custom, nor prescribed by the last will of the deceased monarch, nor yet authenticated by the decision of the States General of the Kingdom, ought, justly, to be considered as an illegal and usurped power, which, being employed for bad purposes, degenerated into a detestable tyranny.

“I, therefore, thought that, without offending the right of nations, I might obey the orders of my Sovereign, and avail myself of the intelligence I had received—especially when I considered that to limit the authority of the Duke of Orleans was, really, doing a most essential service to his most Christian Majesty, since the Regent, actuated by his own views, exerted that authority, merely, in increasing the power of the enemies of the Crown, in introducing dissensions in the Royal House; and in dissipating immense treasures to secure the friendship of foreign princes.

“There were not wanting, however, many persons who inconsiderately thought that his Royal Highness, after having secured to himself by means of his negotiations and new alliances, the presumptive succession to the crown, *would have cruelly put an end to the life of the Most Christian King*, an opinion, in fact very rash, to which we are not to give entire faith; but which, exciting in the minds of men, uncommon apprehensions, was sufficient to make them exert every effort to obliterate the most remote suspicion of so enormous a crime.

“I did not neglect to converse, in a confidential manner, with the above mentioned noblemen, upon these great and important matters—persuading them, at the same time, not to take inconsiderable, unseasonable and hasty steps, when his Catholic Majesty had not forces sufficient, in Spain, to support such enterprises, in case the Duke of Orleans, treating them as seditious, should endeavor, by force, to suppress their attempts. * * * *

“In the mean while, the particulars of the manifesto were settled and conveyed into Spain; as also the letters by which his Catholic Majesty was to represent to the King, his nephew, to the Parliaments of the Kingdom, and to all

the nation, his grievances; proposing the redress, not only of those disorders which were prejudicial to his own interests, but also of those which were immediately injurious to his most Christian Majesty, and to the Kingdom of France—supporting likewise, in this memorial, the petitions which great numbers of Frenchmen were to present to him in the name of the Commonalty, and entreating him to convoke a general meeting of the States, and, with the advice of that great assembly, to put the government on a better footing.

“I afterwards got possession of the originals of the above writings authenticated by the forms of his Catholic Majesty, as also of the letter to the King, his nephew, written entirely with his own hand, with orders to present it when it should be necessary; and not to go any distance from Paris, if even an open rupture should take place, unless I were forcibly driven from thence.” (The manifesto and other papers were somewhat changed, and Cellamare relates how they were transmitted to Spain by Don Vincent Portocarrero, then on a visit to Paris.) “For greater precaution,” the narrative continues, “I desired that Don Vincent should conceal the parcels, placing them between the lining and the cloth of his coat, and I charged him, above all things, to observe religious secrecy in the execution of this trust.

“Matters now having come to this extremity, it was not only considered, in Spain, that a war was at hand, with the Regency of France, but it was known that the Duke of Orleans acted, already, as an open enemy, and that, according to the rules practised, reprisals might take place. Nevertheless, the King, my Master, being averse to injure that nation in which he was brought up, was desirous that all the violent proceedings should arise from the ambition and caprice of the Regent; and declared that he had no intention to do any injury upon this occasion to the Merchants or other Frenchmen within the limits of his dominions, and he caused a memorial to be published in relation to this matter.

“At this period, an anonymous publication appeared—

which censured, with artful irony, the letters written lately under the fictitious name of Fitz-Morris. The author of these letters had industriously exerted every effort, in order that the argument for the succession of the Duke of Orleans to the crown, in case of the death of his most Christian Majesty, should appear incontestable. He had, also, taken great pains to justify the preceding conduct of his Royal Highness, and to treat as calumnies, all those reports which were circulated against this Prince, at the time that he resided in Spain."

Cellamare then recounts that twelve copies of the above book criticising the letters, had been sent to him, which became known to the Government, who suspected him in being concerned in the work, and, consequently, watched his motions. He also speaks of bribing divers personages—and of the various bribes used by the Abbé Dubois, and of the purchase of the great diamond called the "Regent," which, he says, was purchased by the Regent only with an intention "to gratify Lord Stanhope, whose father-in-law had this jewell to sell; and had no hopes of obtaining so great a price for it."

Cellamare then speaks of his being watched by the government, and of Portocarrero being arrested at Poitiers, on his way to Spain, with all the papers entrusted by Cellamare upon him, which were seized. The Prince having sent word to his adherents in France of the seizure, and after advising some to leave the Kingdom, made a bold demand upon the government for redress, on account of the seizure of his papers. "The Abbé Dubois," he continues, "answered my message with artful expressions, and full of deceit—making excuses alleging his ignorance of the fact, and offering, at the same time, to endeavor to get into his hands the parcels above mentioned; and stating that they should *not, certainly, be opened*; but that they should all be religiously returned to me. I did not give any credit to these offers, and I readily persuaded myself that, after the contents of my papers were thoroughly examined, the Regent would have them sealed up again, and delivered to me, in order not to alter that complete dissimulation which

he had hitherto observed with me ; leaving himself at full liberty to act, afterwards, in such manner as he should think most proper, without coming, at present, to an open rupture, and to violent measures injurious to the rights of nations. This opinion was still more confirmed by his Royal Highness speaking to me, in very courteous and familiar terms, upon occasion of my meeting him, the same day, at the apartments of the Duchess, his wife."

After vainly demanding his papers, which were promised him from day to day, Cellamare was told by one M. Le Blanc, that he was commissioned to deliver the papers into the former's individual hands, and an appointment was offered at his (Le Blanc's house), for that purpose, exactly at noon.

"These evasions," says Cellamare, "gave me sufficient reason to expect some extraordinary novelty ; and it appeared insolent that such a proposal should be made, and that I should be required to go, in person, upon business of this kind. * * * Nevertheless I took the resolution to go, at the appointed hour, together with my secretary ; and, to my great surprise, I found M. Le Blanc, accompanied by the *Abbé Dubois*, and, having retired with them, into the furthest room in the house, the *Abbé*, without any preface of ceremony said to me, in an altered and trembling tone of voice :

"'There have been found, Prince, among your parcels, some seditious writings and designs to subvert all the order of government, and to overturn the Kingdom. The King has, therefore, resolved to take proper measures to secure the public tranquillity, and has ordered me to proceed to the house of your Excellency, in order to leave there, in the custody of secure and absolutely confidential persons, all the papers of the Embassy, and to make it known to you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that your Excellency should go out of the confines of the Kingdom of France, with all possible despatch, accompanied by a gentleman of the Court, who, from henceforward, is to remain with you, treating you, however, with all those marks of respect that are due to your person.' Scarce had he ended his speech,

when, in answer to this extraordinary proceeding, I immediately said to him, 'If, after committing the infamous trespass of violating the public faith, and having rashly broken the seals of letters directed to his Catholic Majesty, by his Ambassador, the contents had been carefully examined by you, or if, after having comprehended the true sense of my despatches, you would clearly acknowledge the meaning of them, you would not dare to pronounce words so offensive to truth and to the decorum of my Ministry. You have, certainly, found nothing in my letters but the complaints of your own natives of France ; and the resentment with which they express their detestation of the effects of a Regency considered by them as unlawful ; while, at the same time, the King, my Master, seeks to strengthen those solicitations, by which they have resolved to seek relief of his Most Christian Majesty, from the numerous evils with which France is at present afflicted. By express order of my sovereign, I have listened to their demands ; and have since transmitted to the Court of Spain their projects set on foot to preserve the State, and to avoid the misfortunes produced by your new treaties and your new alliances.' "

These bold and insolent words naturally exasperated the Abbé Dubois ; but M. Le Blanc interposed as Pacificator, or rather, Moderator.

Cellamare thereupon withdrew, still loudly protesting. Guards, however, accompanied him, and took possession of all his papers. He was, also, forbidden to leave his house, unless accompanied, and guards were placed in it. To all this treatment Cellamare put in a formal protest to the nominal King of France ; but under compulsion from the French government, on the 13th Dec., 1718, quitted Paris. He rested for a time at Blois ; and on his arrival in Spain, was instructed not to appear at Court, but received the governorship of one of the Provinces.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXII., p. 353.

The following is the opinion of Camille Desmoulins, one of the instigators as well as one of the victims of the French Revolution, on the character and reign of Louis XIV. It appeared in one of his pamphlets "*La France libre*," circulated at the time, and presents, of course, the extreme democratic view of royalty, then prevailing. "That Prince, with whom the French Academy has been so infatuated, and who has been deified for a century past—in the eyes of reason—before the tribunal of posterity—and judged by the irrefragable testimony of facts—what is he?—A bad parent, a treacherous friend, a wicked husband and an unnatural brother. A vindictive, cruel, and treacherous prince—jealous of the smallest merit or glory in others. A prince so blinded by success, and so infatuated by flattery, that he was convinced that it was not his generals who gained battles, but his own direction: so that it was a matter of no consequence whether he put at the head of his armies one of his servants, or a great general. In recognition of the eulogies of the nation on his insensate administration, he crushed it with his pomp, and bankrupted it for all time. He gave us the capitation tax and the tax of a tenth on income; he burthened the State, in twenty years, with fifteen hundred millions of obligations; he created two millions of salaries, and left more than four thousand millions of debts. But, it is his despotism that renders his memory abominable to his fellow citizens. He found nothing so glorious as to be a Sultan over them: and what Sultan was ever so absolute? He ruled the people by his '*lettres de cachet*.' He forbade us, under penalty of the galleys, to leave the Kingdom, as if we were serfs or negroes chained to a house. A persecutor almost to madness, this Jesuit king commanded his dragoons to convert three

millions of heretics. He caused ten thousand of them to perish by the wheel, by the gallows and by the stake ; without counting a million of fugitives that France lost forever.

"A frenzied despot, he did not wish the English to be freer than we were ; and he endeavored to force them to retake their tyrant.

"Such was the contempt in which he held the nation, then illustrious through its heroes and great men, that, when young, he dared to enter parliament, in riding boots, with his whip in his hand : and, when old, he designated for its future ruler one of his bastards.

"He it was who particularly took pleasure in war, as others take pleasure in the chase : and who, during his whole life, drove his people to it as if they were a pack of hounds. What are the crimes of burning a barn, or an obscure assassination, compared with the ravaging of the Palatinate and of his massacres on the battle field ! 'I have been too fond of war,' said he—'no !—you did not like war. That might have been an excuse for Charles the Twelfth ; the whistling of cannon balls was music to *him*—but *you—you* were a *coward* !—you fled from the presence of any danger to yourself, and took refuge about the carriage of a prostitute—and gave her the theatrical display of a St. Bartholomew's day on the open field. No—you did not like war. You loved nothing but yourself. You saw nothing but yourself. You believed everything created was for you—both the lives of your subjects and their families.' Oh ! if I had been the Marquis de Montespan, instead of going into mourning, like a fool, instead of writing a stupid letter to the Pope asking to be allowed to be married again, I would have done as did the Senator Maximus, or the wood-sawyer of Messina—of whom I wonder there have been so few imitators. * * * *"

"Like those insane persons who are perfectly sane on all subjects but one, the French people gave lessons to Europe on all sciences, but remained in complete childhood as to the principles of natural right—as to the only science which does not require to be learned—but which is engraved on every heart."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXIII., p. 354.

In the "*Consolato del Mare*"—that very ancient compilation of maritime laws and usages, promulgated probably as early as the 10th, but formulated into a code probably in the 14th Century, it is laid down in the French version, thus: "Si quelque navire armé qui entre, sort, est, ou reste en course, rencontre un autre navire de marchandises; si ce dernier est enemi, et que ce qu'il portera appartienne aux ennemis, sur ce qu'il portera il ne faut rien dire, parce que chacun sait et est certain de ce qu'il faut faire en pareille circonstance, c'est pourquoi, en pareil cas, il faut se taire." (That is to say, that the ship and cargo are both to be confiscated.)

"Mais, si le navire pris est ami, et que la marchandise qu'il porte appartienne à des ennemis, l'amiral du vaisseau armé peut forcer et contraindre le seigneur du navire pris, à lui apporter toutes les choses qui appartiendront aux ennemis, et exiger qu'il se tienne, dans son navire, jusqu' à ce qu'il soit en lieu de recouvrement, ce qui signifie que l'Amiral, ou autre pour lui, doit se faire suivre derrière, jusqu' à un lieu où il n'ait point peur que les ennemis puissent le lui reprendre."

APPENDIX.

THE Treaty of Westphalia was signed both at Osnabrück and Münster, in Westphalia, and is sometimes termed the "Treaty of Münster."

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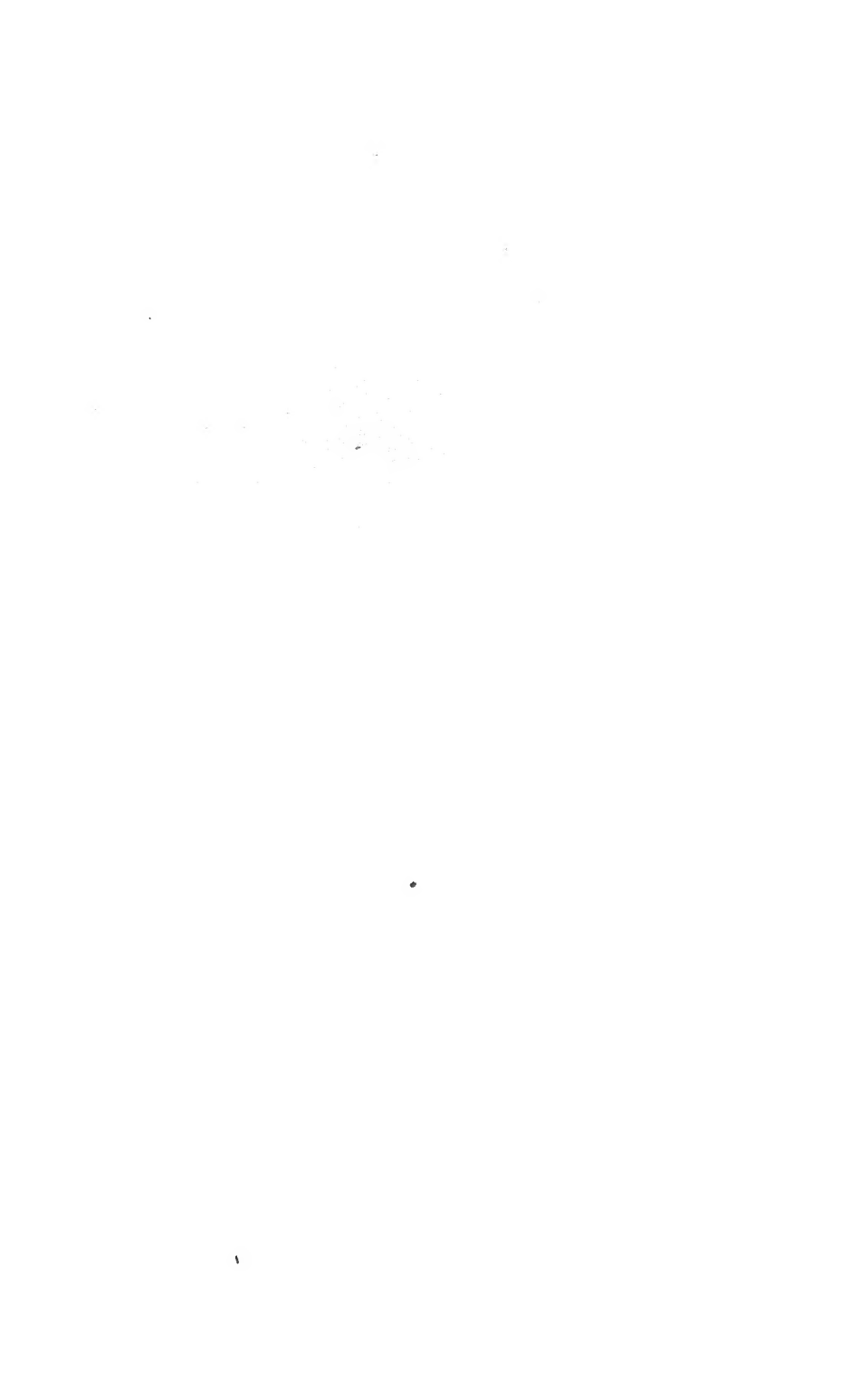
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